

# THE MILITANT

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South African groups plan  
Charter for Women's Rights

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## 'JFK' film distorts role of Kennedy

BY SETH GALINSKY

When President John F. Kennedy is hit by the fatal shot, the audience packing the theater for Oliver Stone's latest movie gasps. It doesn't matter that the shot was no surprise, that everyone knows what happens next. The November 22, 1963, assassination rocked the United States and the world.

Film maker Stone argues in *JFK* that Kennedy was the "hope of humanity" and a friend of the struggle of Blacks; that if he had lived the course of world history would have been changed. Kennedy wanted to end the cold war, one of the picture's characters argues. The movie suggests Kennedy would have lessened hostility with revolutionary Cuba, reined in the CIA and the military, closed down U.S. bases, and stopped the war in Vietnam.

According to the movie a vast conspiracy involving the CIA, the FBI, right-wing Cuban exiles, the mafia, the U.S. Army Chiefs of Staff, Vice-President Lyndon Johnson, and owners of arms corporations decided to assassinate the president. The movie

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## SWP joins fight against Hawaii write-in vote ban

BY TIM HARDY

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party has announced it will file a brief in the Supreme Court supporting the fight to strike down Hawaii's undemocratic ban on write-in voting. The court is scheduled to hear the case in March.

After learning he could not cast a write-in vote in the state, Alan Burdick filed suit in 1986, calling the ban unconstitutional. A federal district court in Honolulu ruled in favor of Burdick, only to have the decision overturned by a higher court. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has taken Burdick's case and will argue it before the Supreme Court.

Edward Copeland — from the law firm Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky &

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## Peace for Cuba rally

January 25, 2:00 pm

New York City

Javits Convention Center  
11th Ave and 34th St.

Speakers include: Ramsey Clark, Hortensia Allende, and Tony Benn.

Special guests from Cuba include: Alicia Alonso, director, National Ballet of Cuba; Teófilo Stevenson, Olympic gold medal boxer; and Carmen Rosa Báez, president, Cuban Federation of University Students.

Tickets: \$10.

For more information:  
212-777-1246.

## Bush's Japan trip shows U.S. capitalism's decline

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

U.S. president George Bush returned from Japan, the last leg of his Asia trip, with the image of a sick man who did not accomplish any of the goals he set for Washington before his departure. The results of the trip highlighted the weakening position of U.S. imperialism today in relation to its major competitors, as the world capitalist economy spirals into depression.

Among Bush's central goals was to take steps to diminish the \$41 billion Japanese trade surplus with the United States, including the creation of openings to increase U.S. exports to Japan and the removal of some Japanese trade barriers such as the restriction on rice imports.

Bush's demagogic theme was that the trip would result in "jobs, jobs, jobs" for workers in the United States.

Washington's failure in Tokyo was underlined by the government's announcement on Bush's return that U.S. unemployment

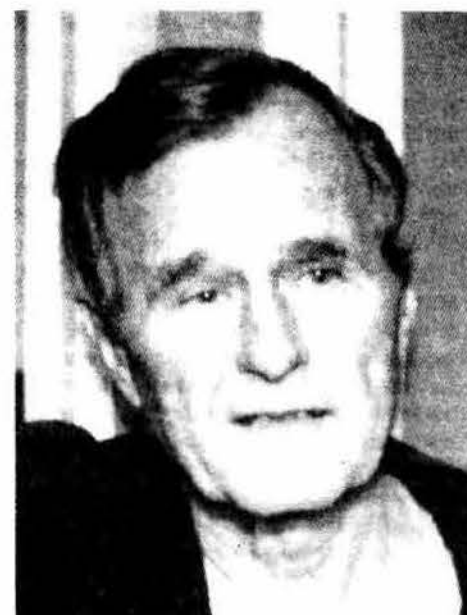
rose in December to 7.1 percent, the highest level in six years.

As soon as they set foot in Washington January 10, Bush and his aides plunged into an unsuccessful effort to give an optimistic glow to the trip. They pointed to the agreement by Japanese auto companies to increase imports of auto parts made in the United States from \$9 billion to \$19 billion a year by 1995.

Japanese capitalists were already planning to open new auto manufacturing lines in the United States over the next two or three years. This would increase the production capacity at their U.S. plants by 50 percent. Auto parts purchases by Japanese companies would have gone up by several billion dollars even without the \$19 billion commitment. Japanese auto industry officials said that 80 percent of the parts they buy will come from factories they have built in the United States.

There was no agreement for a schedule to lower Japan's trade surplus with the United

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President George Bush aboard his plane leaving Tokyo.

## 'No excuse' for police brutality, say protesters in Des Moines, Iowa

BY SHIRLEY PEÑA  
AND JOHN STUDER

DES MOINES, Iowa — Over 1,000 people packed into the Union Baptist Church January 2 as part of a series of events here to condemn the brutal beating of Larry Milton, a 35-year-old Black man, by Des Moines cops.

The largely Black meeting took place in a city where federal census figures place the total African-American population at less than 15,000.

Milton said he was beaten with flashlights and choked and kicked by cops, before and after he was handcuffed and placed in leg restraints. The assault took place on the evening of December 28. The cops involved have been identified as Sgt. Joanne Pollock and officers Thomas Heller and Steve Strawser. Milton's account has been corroborated by dozens of eyewitnesses.

William Bond said in an interview that the beating lasted "a good 20 minutes." He said Milton shouted out, "Don't shoot me," when police put a gun to his chest. Another witness, Walter Tibbs, explained, "When we got there the lady cop grabbed him around the throat, while the others were hitting him, and said, 'Shut up nigger.'"

Octavia Bond said she first saw Milton as the cops

chased him from across the street. As they grabbed Milton and took him down to the ground, they cuffed both his hands and legs. At that point, the cops began to smack Milton in the face, despite his continuing pleas.

As she watched from her front porch, 100 feet from the beating, she heard a loud crack every time the cop's flashlight struck Milton's head.

After a while, Milton stopped crying out.

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## Prosecute cops who beat Larry Milton!

Sara Lobman, chairperson of the Des Moines Young Socialist Alliance, former Socialist Worker Party candidate for mayor, and member of United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 431, was one of the first speakers from the audience at a Des Moines City Council meeting January 6 under a point on the beating of Larry Milton.

Lobman read from the Des Moines Police Uniform Division Standard Operating Procedures, a document she had obtained from

## EDITORIAL

a civil rights lawsuit brought against the Des Moines police by a former member of her union, Mark Curtis.

Under a section entitled "Preventative Force," this manual advises cops, "If looking over an unarmed opponent, start from the bottom. If barefoot, a stomp with the heel of your shoe on the top of his toe will stop him."

The manual's suggested "restraining techniques" include: "one or two stiff fingers jabbed to the eyeballs; two fingers inserted in the nostrils from above and yanked upwards."

Lobman quoted the manual's listing of a variety of body parts as recommended targets for the cops' assaults.

Hundreds who had gathered in City Hall were familiar with the physical assaults described in the manual. This is not because they have read it but because they have lived it. Many at the meeting had been victimized or had family or friends who had been assaulted by the Des Moines cops.

The City Council meeting was the second large outpouring in the city in response to the brutal assault by Des Moines police on Larry Milton, a 35-year-old Black man. One thousand had turned out a few days earlier at a

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Larry Milton, after being severely beaten by Des Moines cops December 28. He needed 22 staples to close his head wounds.

Interview with Cuban economist Carlos Tablada — pages 8-10



# Killing of Puerto Rican worker by cops provokes angry protests in New York

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

BROOKLYN, New York — Chants of "we want justice," and "police are murderers" rang through the streets of the Bushwick section of Brooklyn as 200 people marched toward the 83rd police precinct.

The January 7 demonstration was organized to protest the killing of Héctor Rivera by a New York City cop on New Year's eve. Rivera, a 47-year-old delivery truck driver for a paper company, was originally from Puerto Rico.

John Tavaréz, the cop who killed Rivera, and his partner Robert Petry said they were called on the scene to investigate a complaint. Rivera was standing on the sidewalk outside his home when the cops arrived. The cops shouted from the police car for him to freeze and Rivera raised his hands over his head, said Angel Rodríguez, an eyewitness, in an interview. "Héctor yelled, 'I got no gun, I got nothing' with his hands raised," said Rodríguez. "Then the cop shot him in the chest."

The police originally said Rivera was reaching in the trunk of his car for a gun when he was shot. They soon had to change their story when it was disclosed that Rivera's car was parked across the street. They then claimed Rivera was reaching in a paper bag for a gun. But a paper bag found on the scene was empty. Police investigators found no gun.

Thomas Moverman, the lawyer representing the Rivera family, announced in a press conference on January 7 that he intended to

file a \$50 million suit against the city government for the killing.

Many of the participants at the protest, overwhelmingly Puerto Rican, were friends, relatives, or neighbors of Rivera. Two of Rivera's sons and his daughter led the demonstration behind a Puerto Rican flag. During the spirited and youthful march from the point of the shooting to the 83rd police precinct several people recounted stories of police violence in the neighborhood.

"My son was badly beat up by the cops on December 30," said José Medina, a neighbor of Rivera. José Torres said his 15-year-old son was shot to death by the police last October. "I came to join the march because I know from personal experience what the police do," said Torres, addressing a rally as the march wound up in front of the precinct.

Dozens of police officers in full riot gear had encircled the precinct behind barricades.

A woman held a sign with the names of several victims of police violence in the last few years in New York. "Murdered by the police: Eleanor Bumpurs, David Gotto, Juan Hernández, Luis Lebrón, Mary Mitchell, Michael Stuart, Tomás Vizueta," read the placard. "Stop police brutality," "You killed an unarmed man," and "Equal justice," were among the dozens of hand-made signs. Several participants said that there had been at least four demonstrations against police vio-



March in Brooklyn protesting the cop killing of Héctor Rivera. Second from right, holding Puerto Rican flag, is Héctor Rivera Jr., one of the victim's sons.

lence at the 83rd precinct in the last couple of years.

"The police treat us like animals, they don't respect our dignity, they call us welfare bums," said José Luis Venegas, spokesperson for the Committee for Puerto Rican Rights, at the rally. "This won't be swept under the

rug," said Héctor Rivera, Jr., son of the murdered man, who thanked all of the participants for showing up.

## Racist attacks against Black children

The mentality and the treatment of workers by the police "especially those of us who are Latino or Black, fosters widespread racist violence," said David Santiago, participant at the march. Santiago referred to the recent beatings of two Black children by a racist gang in the Bronx.

The youngsters, a brother and a sister ages 14 and 12, were assaulted by four teenagers on their way to school January 6. "You black bastards are turning white today," one of the assailants called as they smeared the children with white spray paint.

"These attacks must be protested vigorously, like the police murder of Caña," said Santiago. Caña is the nickname of Héctor Rivera, for caña dulce — sugar cane.

Several members of the New York chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) participated in the march and rally in Bushwick. "The Young Socialist Alliance is with us all the way," announced Iraida Rodríguez, with a bullhorn, as a YSA statement protesting Rivera's killing was being handed out.

This protest "is an opportunity to take a stand against the daily brutality dished out by the police. The killing of Rivera is a clear case of this violence," said the YSA statement.

The statement pointed to the widespread outrage and protests last year over the televised cop beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles and the killings of youth by New Jersey cops. "This shows the potential to mobilize thousands against police beatings, murders, and frame-ups.

"The initiative to call a demonstration at the police precinct in Brooklyn points exactly in the direction needed to force city authorities to lock up the killer cops," concluded the statement.

## Young Socialist Alliance tops fund drive goal

BY MAGGIE PUCCI  
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Young Socialist Alliance members and supporters went well beyond their goal of raising \$9,000 for the fall national fund drive. More than \$10,000, or 113 percent of the goal, was raised during the 9-week drive that ended December 16. Seventeen out of 23 chapters made or went over their goal.

This is the largest amount raised by the revolutionary youth organization in at least five years. The success of the drive was a major step toward transforming the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) into a self-financed organization, one which looks to its members and supporters to sustain its activity financially.

Key to the victory were contributions from the membership. The YSA grew by more than 70 in number during the fall. Political fund-raising activities, like socials after Militant Labor Forums, YSA-sponsored classes, and video showings on campuses, raised funds and helped to bring more young people around the YSA.

Political developments in the course of the drive heightened interest in the socialist youth organization and its ability to reach out and win new recruits and contributors.

In the Twin Cities YSA members played a central role in mobilizing forces against an ultrarightist group the 'White Student Union' at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. Close to \$200 was raised at a video showing of "Malcolm X: Our Black Shining Prince." Chapter members organized and cooked breakfast for supporters of the Militant on Saturday mornings before teams went out to sell the paper in working-class communities. About \$340 was raised through an auction of posters and other items after a Militant Labor Forum featuring Socialist

Workers Party leader Mary-Alice Waters, who spoke on the challenges facing the Cuban revolution. The chapter raised its goal during the drive and finished at 110 percent.

The announcement of candidacies for U.S. president by ultrarightists David Duke and Patrick Buchanan and the array of liberal presidential candidates incapable of presenting any solutions to the deepening problems facing working people have increased interest among young people in discussing how to fight against the grinding impact of the capitalist crisis.

"We connected the fund drive with answering political questions young workers and students raised," reported Albert, fund drive director in Los Angeles. Through political discussions on the job and at YSA events, the chapter there raised \$163 in contributions from coworkers and supporters.

New people began coming to YSA events as a result of members' participation in protests against police brutality, in defense of abortion clinics, and other political activities. Several teams of YSAers participated in actions protesting rightist attacks against abortion clinics in Wichita, Kansas; Boston; and Cincinnati among other cities. Twenty-nine youth attended a YSA open house in Pittsburgh following a December public meeting where African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela spoke.

A rap music group in Newark performed at two parties, helping the chapter to surpass its goal. Several of the chapter's newest members belong to the music group.

In Cincinnati the YSA held weekly classes on the Communist Manifesto, Malcolm X, the fight for women's rights, and the Cuban revolution. The classes were built through weekly literature tables at the University of Cincinnati and sales of the Militant at high

schools. Diana, a member of the chapter, reported that the many youth who attended the classes were asked for donations. YSAers also sold refreshments and baked goods they made themselves. Five new people joined the chapter during the fall.

YSA members were very active in building the tour of Cuban economist Carlos Tablada last fall. Contributions from the fund made possible production of a three-color YSA T-shirt in defense of the Cuban revolution.

Contributions enabled the YSA to send national teams to meetings such as the Young Feminists conference in San Francisco and the Student Environmental Action Coalition conference in Boulder, Colorado. A YSA leadership delegation visited Cuba on the invitation of the Union of Young Communists. Derek Bracey, YSA national organization secretary, represented the organization at the December ANC Youth League congress in South Africa.

A delegation is now planned for the "Second International Conference of the Peaceful and Independent Reunification of Korea." The gathering is scheduled to take place in Madrid, Spain, in early February.

By going over the goal by 13 percent, members and friends of the YSA showed their determination to build a communist youth organization — one that is capable of presenting working-class answers and leading struggles against the solutions figures such as Duke, Buchanan, and other capitalist politicians seek to impose on humanity.

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## Join us!

The Young Socialist Alliance is an organization of young people from across the country who are fighting against the wars and economic crises of capitalism and for socialism.

Join us today!

☐ Yes, I want to join the YSA.

☐ Please send me more information.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Union/School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 211, New York, NY 10011. Tel (212) 727-8422



# Pathfinder bookstore to open at mural

BY NANCY BROWN  
AND PAUL MAILHOT

NEW YORK — March 7 has been set as the opening day for a new Pathfinder bookstore adjacent to the six-story high Pathfinder Mural, at West and Charles streets on the west side of Manhattan.

Overlooking the mural, the store will feature a full range of Pathfinder books containing the writings and speeches of revolutionary figures and working-class leaders. Friends of the Pathfinder Mural have launched an international fundraising effort to raise \$30,000 to complete the construction work on the exterior and interior of the new bookstore.

The Pathfinder Mural, completed in 1989, depicts some 150 international revolutionary leaders and fighters, including Malcolm X, Nelson Mandela, Thomas Sankara, Mother Jones, Maurice Bishop, Che Guevara, and Fidel Castro. It was painted by more than 80 artists from 20 countries.

The mural is a landmark in New York City and is known throughout the world. Thousands of people have stopped by to view it, at all times of the day and night. Teachers have brought their classes to see it and on occasion tour buses stop so that pictures can be taken. The mural has been used as a backdrop for professional photography shoots and music videos.

The decision to open a bookstore means that people who come to see the mural can also easily obtain some of the writings and speeches of the revolutionary leaders depicted on the wall. Many of these leaders' works are published and distributed by Pathfinder.

Until now, to get further information about the rich history of working-class struggle and the fighters painted on the mural, passers-by had to travel to Pathfinder Bookstores further away in Manhattan or in Newark, New Jersey.

In addition to revolutionary literature, the new Pathfinder Mural Bookstore will have on sale photographs of the mural, posters, and postcards. Outside on the fence in front of the painting will be a descriptive key giving details of the fighters whose portraits are on the wall and the artists who painted them.



Pathfinder Mural in New York. Bookstore will open in adjacent building.

Artwork by Dumile Feni, an exiled South African artist, who painted the mural's portrait of Nelson Mandela and scenes of the 1976 Soweto rebellion, will be displayed in the bookstore. Feni, who died last October,

was one of the mural's strongest promoters.

Recently the *New Nation*, a nationwide anti-apartheid newspaper in South Africa, carried a full-color photograph of the mural with a caption that read, "THE DUMILE FENI

LEGACY — The Pathfinder building in New York. A work of art which grips the imagination. Feni raised funds for artists from around the world to travel to New York and paint the mural."

The \$30,000 for the completion of the construction needs to be raised by early March, to enable the bookstore to open. Although much of the construction work is being done by volunteers, funds are needed for the new stairs, windows, doors, signs, carpet, paint, bookcases, and furniture. The funds will also be needed to do some necessary maintenance work to help preserve the mural, which includes putting a second protective coating over the entire surface.

Major portions of the work on the bookstore have already been completed. Windows and a doorway have been cut through a brick wall leading into the bookstore. A staircase has also been erected down to street level.

To celebrate the opening of the bookstore and help raise funds, the Friends of the Pathfinder Mural have produced a beautiful new 20" by 30" full-color poster of the entire mural. The poster is available from Friends of the Pathfinder Mural for \$10. Contributors of \$50 or more to the project will receive a free poster.

Contributions and orders for posters can be sent to Friends of the Pathfinder Mural, 191 Seventh Ave., New York, NY 10011. Tel: (212)727-8421.

## Peace for Cuba rally called in New York

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

A Peace for Cuba rally will take place in New York January 25. The event will demand that the U.S. government lift its trade embargo and travel ban against Cuba.

Washington has maintained a policy of aggression against Cuba ever since the working people of that country got rid of a pro-U.S. dictator in 1959 and established their own government. For the last three decades the U.S. government has imposed a trade embargo to attempt to starve Cuba into sub-

mission. In a violation of freedom of travel, it has established severe restrictions on the right of U.S. residents to visit Cuba. Washington keeps a large naval base at Guantánamo, Cuba, against that nation's will.

Paul Ahuja of the Peace for Cuba International Appeal, which is organizing the rally, said the meeting is a response to stepped-up aggressive actions by Washington against Cuba. He cited the provocative mobilization of U.S. military forces at Guantánamo, where a virtual concentration camp has been set up to detain refugees fleeing repression in Haiti.

The Peace for Cuba International Appeal is demanding that Washington lift its embargo and travel ban, close its naval base at Guantánamo, cease its hostile military moves against Cuba, normalize diplomatic relations with that country, and respect Cuba's sovereignty.

The appeal has been signed by a number of prominent figures such as Ramsey Clark, Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva of Brazil's Workers' Party,

Alice Walker, Representative John Conyers, and Noam Chomsky. It has been endorsed by the Antonio Maceo Brigade, Casa de las Américas, the Venceremos Brigade, and Areito magazine, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance, among others.

Among the special guests from Cuba who have been announced for the rally are Alicia Alonso, director of the National Ballet of Cuba; well-known boxer Teófilo Stevenson; and Carmen Rosa Báez, president of the Federation of University Students of Cuba.

The rally will be held January 25 at 2 p.m. at the Jacob Javits Convention Center, 11th Avenue and 34th Street, New York. Tickets are \$10. For more information call the Peace for Cuba International Appeal at (212) 475-6910.

Right-wing opponents of the Cuban revolution have called a counterdemonstration to the Peace for Cuba rally, centering on the demand that the U.S. embargo against Cuba be enforced.

## Bush trip to Japan shows U.S. decline

Continued from front page

States, three-quarters of which comes from the one-sided automobile trade. This was a demand of the U.S. auto executives who accompanied Bush. Japanese prime minister Kiichi Miyazawa's stance on rice imports was that opening them up was out of the question.

News reports quoted Japanese drivers who offered hints of why the trade imbalance is not about to improve. "Of course I might buy an American car," said Tokyo resident Tomio Sakamoto, in a typical news item.

"But I remember that my friend had a Pontiac, and it breaks down very often," Sakamoto added. "The brake gets loose and the blinker lever dropped. It's unbelievable it was so badly made." Others complained that the steering wheel of U.S. cars is on the wrong side for Japanese drivers.

Prime Minister Miyazawa, who had said Japan should make concessions out of "compassion" for a U.S. auto industry that has been "defeated" by Japanese competition, offered a more conciliatory tone during Bush's visit. "We'd like to be a friend," he said.

### 'A trip from hell'

Unlike Bush, executives of the Big Three U.S. auto companies who accompanied him denounced the pact with Japan.

Lee Iacocca, chairman of Chrysler Corporation, issued the sharpest attack. The accord signed by Bush would not budge the trade deficit or solve any of the auto industry's problems, he said.

"I for one am fed up hearing from the Japanese, and I might say some Americans, too, that all our problems... are our own damn fault," Iacocca said, addressing 5,000 business executives at the Detroit Economic Club. "We do not have idiots running General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler."

He denounced what he called Japanese "predatory trade" and "insidious Japanese economic and political power within the United States."

The Japan-bashing campaign that has

swept capitalist politics recently was escalated in the course of Bush's trip.

Patrick Buchanan, the rightist contender for the Republican Party nomination for president, has announced a new television ad portraying Bush adviser Charles Black, whose public relations firm has Japanese clients, dressed in a kimono.

Most of the big-business news media in the United States, frightened by the apparent slide of U.S. imperialism, portrayed Bush's trip as a major failure. Headlines such as "The trip from hell" and "Bad trip" topped the pages of the *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal*.

"His three-and-a-half-day visit to Japan, interrupted by a frightening bout of stomach flu, was a fiasco," said a *New York Times* editorial. "The President who organized a global coalition against Saddam Hussein was reduced to the appearance of begging Japan to buy more American auto parts," complained the *Wall Street Journal*. "Whatever happened to the New World Order?"

The developments in Japan, which illuminated the decline of U.S. imperialism, followed other events on Bush's Asia trip that underlined the same fact. The loss of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines, a major blow in Washington's ability to wield its military might in Asia, was highlighted by Bush's stop in Singapore to gain naval facilities there.

The South Korean government's announcement, in the course of reaching a series of agreements with North Korea, that it would call off its annual joint military maneuvers with the United States, was another big setback for Washington.

When he arrived in Seoul, South Korea, prior to his Japan visit, Bush publicly criticized Roh Tae Woo's government for moving too fast in negotiations with the North.

"We think that, as Koreans, we can read their minds a little better," responded Tae Woo, referring to the North Koreans.

"The feeling up here," said an unnamed adviser to a leading Republican senator, summing up Bush's trip, "is that this is best put behind us."

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# Rallies in 3 cities back freedom for jailed unionist

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year prison term in the state penitentiary in Fort Madison on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. For more information about the case or how you can

help, write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311; telephone (515) 246-1695.

## DEFEND MARK CURTIS!



If you have news or reports on activities in support of Mark Curtis from your city or country, please send them to the *Militant*.

"The beating Mark Curtis received at the hands of the Des Moines Police Department was not a rarity or an example of infrequent excess," said Joan Levitt, a supporter of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

"It is an example of the everyday use of police brutality in cities and towns across the country to intimidate and control working people. We are here tonight to add our voices to those opposing it and to demand freedom and justice for Mark Curtis," Levitt was welcoming participants to a mid-November Curtis defense rally in Birmingham, Alabama. Curtis, a former meat-packer and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, was framed-up in March 1988.

"Whenever working people believe in something strongly enough and are willing to fight for it we face victimization," wrote James Gibbs,

members and supporters to try to break our will. They could not do it. And in the end we won out."

Several of the speakers had known and worked with Curtis when he lived in Birmingham. Donnell Smith spoke of his friendship with Curtis. He told how the management of the company where they worked together fostered racism to dissuade him and others from associating with Curtis because of Curtis's political views. "It didn't work then and it's not working today," he said.

Michelle Wilson of the National Organization for Women remembered working with Curtis in the defense of abortion clinics. She recalled how he helped escort women into the clinics when they were threatened by the so-called right-to-lifers. "I feel very strongly that the case of Mark Curtis is not about rape; it's about power," she stated.

"We're all here because a little part of us is in jail with Mark Curtis," said Pat Hunt of the Socialist Workers Party, reflecting the strong sentiment of solidarity expressed throughout the rally.

"There will be more cases like Mark's in the future," she said, "because this country is in an economic

crisis that cannot be reversed. And the rulers are forced to attack our standard of living, our rights, and our ability to fight back.

"Mark is part of a layer of workers who refuse to be pitted against their coworkers, who are unwilling to buckle to the bosses' attacks," said Hunt. "That's why the stakes in this case are so high. We have to increase the political price the rulers must pay for keeping Mark in prison. We must make them think twice before they raise their billy club in any worker's face."

Eula McGill, a retired staffperson for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, told the story of the frame-up of Homer Welch, an organizer for the United Textile Workers Union in Birmingham in the 1930s and 40s.

Susan Battles, an activist against the death penalty, recounted her experiences with police harassment as a young woman "for just having Black friends," and how this later led her to become involved in the defense of Gary Tyler. Tyler, framed-up for murder in 1974 during a struggle over school desegregation, is currently serving life without parole in Louisiana.

Messages of support were also read from Hollis Watkins, a long-time human rights activist from Jackson, Mississippi, and Eddie Carthan, the first Black mayor of Tchula, Mississippi. Carthan was the target of a racist frame-up following his election.

About \$400 dollars collected at the rally was sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Mark Curtis supporters in St. Louis have been organizing showings of the video *The Frame-up of Mark Curtis* and holding meetings with coworkers, students, and prominent individuals.

The showings were part of promoting a December 8 meeting to demand freedom for Curtis to support his lawsuit against the Des

Moines cops who brutally beat him. Among those attending the meeting were workers from the National Steel Mill in Granite City, Illinois, and Hussman Industries in St. Louis. Auto Workers from GM and Ford assembly plants in Missouri also attended.

Kitty Loepker, a steelworker from Granite City, told the audience, "Mark is not in jail for the false accusation of rape that he has been convicted of, but for his political activities." Loepker decided to become active in the defense effort after going to Des Moines. She attended part of the trial in Curtis's suit against the police who beat him at the time of his arrest.

"I met Mark," she said. "I saw that Mark is an actual human being who could have been my brother or uncle."

Since returning from Des Moines, Loepker said, she has been talking about the case with everyone. She urged participants "to show the video to your brothers and sisters, mom and dad, friends and neighbors, because Mark's fight is our fight."

More than \$1,000 was raised to help advance the defense effort, including a \$100 contribution from an auto worker who was unable to attend the meeting.

A December 7 rally in Salt Lake City called for justice for framed-up and imprisoned activists Mark Curtis and Leonard Peltier.

"Young people are drawn to this fight," stated Meg Hall of the Young Socialist Alliance, because of the stakes in the struggle against police brutality and frame-up.

"More young people are becoming active in politics," she said. "The government is trying to use Mark Curtis as an example, but we can turn that example around."

Letters of support for Curtis were read to the meeting from Rebecca Elliot, a leader of the Utah Chapter of the National Organization for

Women; Dave Whip of International Association of Machinists Local 568; and John Harper, associate dean of the College of Law at the University of Utah.

Julie Hagerman, a representative of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, spoke about Peltier's fight against his conviction and imprisonment in South Dakota. Peltier is an activist in defense of the rights of Native Americans.

Peltier, she said, was convicted of murdering two federal agents at Pine Ridge Reservation in June 1975 despite tremendous legal impropriety and overwhelming evidence of a politically motivated conspiracy. A worldwide campaign is under way to secure his release.

John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, told the meeting, "The frame up of Mark Curtis was not a fluke. It was not an accident."

Curtis spoke out in defense of immigrant workers who had been brought to Iowa by the bosses of the meat-packing industry. The bosses like immigration both as a source of cheap labor and an opportunity to exploit conflicts between native-born and foreign workers, Studer explained. Just prior to Curtis's arrest on a trumped-up charge of attempted rape, he had been actively involved in protests against immigration department moves to deport 17 of his Mexican and Salvadoran coworkers.

Despite a countercampaign against Curtis, which has found support in some parts of the labor officialdom, Studer said that the campaign to free Mark Curtis is continuing to gain worldwide support. It has become a symbol of the struggle for working people around the globe. "Mark's fight is about showing you can fight," he said.

Dan Furman in Birmingham, Alabama; Andrea Gonzalez in St. Louis; and Matthew Stannard and David Anshen in Salt Lake City contributed to this column.

# British cops surround house, kill unarmed man

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

SHEFFIELD, England — Police in the West Yorkshire village of Rastrick marked New Year's Day by shooting and killing Ian Bennett, an unemployed building worker.

Bennett is the third unarmed person to have been killed by the cops since August when a young Black man, Ian Gordon, was gunned down. The killing also follows the exposure of a series of police frame-ups in Britain, leading to the release of the Tottenham Three, Birmingham Six, and Guildford Four. No police officers have faced prosecution for any of the previous killings.

As in the previous cases, the police have defended their actions. For 80 minutes they lay siege to Bennett's house located in the Field Lane Housing estate (project). Bennett was inside, carrying a replica gun. He was shot three times by single shot police rifles.

Assistant chief constable of the West Yorkshire police, Bill Hughes, said that carrying replica guns is a dangerous practice because it is impossible to tell a replica without close examination. "Police officers aim to shoot at the upper torso and you can expect to inflict fatal injuries," Hughes told BBC television.

But local working people see the issue differently. Three days after the shooting the issue dominated many discussions. Inside Field Lane Fisheries, the local fish and chip shop, people talked about the killing. Ian, a worker in a carpet factory in nearby Brighouse, said it was "terrible." He said Bennett and his family had faced a lot of trouble from the police over the years. "They used to be called Boniface but changed their name because of the previous trouble."

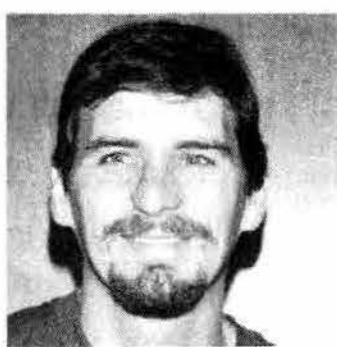
A woman added that the Bennetts had a reputation for enjoying a drink and sometimes getting into fights. "But that doesn't make it right. Millions of people enjoy a drink. That doesn't mean they should be shot." Bennett had one previous conviction

for violence.

The proprietor said he "knew Ian Bennett well — he regularly came in here. He should never have been killed. It was awful."

Youth in the area told stories of continual harassment by the police. Christopher Binns, 29, said, "Ever since I was 16, I've had trouble with the police. Ian's mother said they shot him like a dog — what she said was right."

Kevin, 15, and Martin and John, both 13, said that the "cops are always stopping us and asking us questions, especially at night."



## from PATHFINDER The Frame-up of Mark Curtis by Margaret Jayko

This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp., \$5.

Order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. (Please include \$3 for postage and handling.)

Kevin was among the nearly 200 people from the neighborhood who poured out of their houses and witnessed the siege and shooting. "They brought his body out at 12:10. Everyone said it was awful. There was no need to kill him," Bennett's family condemned the killing. They accused police of "cold blooded murder."

According to Ian Bennett's brother, Clint, Ian had been out drinking. "They used him as a target. My dad pleaded with police to allow him to talk to Ian over the loudhailer but they wouldn't listen." Ian "was drunk.

Another four hours and he would have crashed out asleep. If they had just been patient Ian would not be dead."

In a telephone interview, a representative of the civil liberties organization Liberty said that they were calling for an investigation into police policy concerning the use of firearms. Sue Reid, Communist League parliamentary candidate in Sheffield, demanded immediate government action to compensate the Bennett and Gordon families and to prosecute the police responsible for ordering and executing the killings.

## Literature available from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee

**The Stakes in the Worldwide Political Campaign to Defend Mark Curtis** by John Gaige. A pamphlet that explains the political background to Curtis's case, the frame-up, and unfair trial. 25 pp. \$1.

**The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis**, a VHS video produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle. This effective 49-minute documentary has clips from TV news broadcasts on Curtis's fight for justice; scenes from the trial; and interviews with Curtis, his wife Kate Kaku, and others. This video is available for the cost of reproduction and shipping. \$15.

**State of Iowa v. Mark Stanton Curtis**. Transcript of September 1988 jury trial proceedings that found Curtis guilty of rape and burglary. 446 pp. \$30.

**Brief of Mark Curtis vs City of Des Moines**. 20 pp. \$1.

**Mark Stanton Curtis v. City of Des Moines, et al.** Civil lawsuit brief submitted in U.S. District Court by Curtis claiming damages against Des Moines police who beat him after his arrest. 10 pp. \$1.

For these and other materials (including in Spanish) write or call the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Phone (515) 246-1695. Bulk quantities are available. Payments should accompany orders and checks can be made out to Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Please allow 2 weeks for delivery.



# 1,000 protest beating by Des Moines cops

Continued from front page

Bond said. She and her brother thought he'd been killed. "People in our neighborhood don't have video recorders, so we called the TV stations. They didn't come."

As the beating took place, a number of other cop cars arrived. Then the cops all stood in a circle around Milton, conducting a discussion among themselves, to get their stories straight. After several minutes, they threw Milton, head first, into a police van.

Milton had to be taken to three different hospitals to receive proper treatment for the damage to his head. Finally, he was flown to Iowa City — over 100 miles away — where 22 special metal staples were used to close the deepest wound to his head.

The beating of Milton is not disputed by the cops or by Police Chief William Moulder, who claims "the force used was proper."

## Slander campaign

The cops and their supporters launched a campaign of slander against Milton by declaring "there's every reason to believe he has a substance abuse problem," and citing Milton's previous arrests on petty charges.

The Des Moines Register has aided the cops by printing articles entitled "Reports since '87 show pattern of violence" and "Drugs can spark violent behavior" next to those on the cop beating.

The Register also wrote an editorial January 5 attempting to cut the cops' losses from the incident. "The Des Moines Police Department has no documented history of using excessive force," the paper's editors claimed.

In an effort to provide a public forum to discuss the police beating, the Black community radio station KUCB sponsored a day-long forum on the issue of cop brutality January 1.

The slogan "No excuse" emerged from the call-in program, which captures the outrage at the beating among working people. The radio station reported receiving over 200 phone calls during the day. Many callers demanded that Police Chief Moulder resign. Some called for more Black cops as a solution; others urged that a grand jury be convened to decide if criminal charges should be brought against the cops; a few callers expressed the opinion that acts of retaliation should be carried out against the cops.

## Debate on cops' role

The divergence of views on how working people should take up the Milton beating was also reflected in an on-the-air discussion on KUCB between several leading figures in the Black community. These included Kalonji Saadiq, general manager of KUCB, and the president of the Des Moines chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Larry Carter.

Saadiq remarked that he knew immediately upon seeing Milton's face that too much force had been used. "Even if what the officers say is true, which is highly doubtful, it would not justify that degree of brutality," Saadiq said.

Carter disagreed, saying he preferred to reserve judgment until the matter was "fully investigated by the proper authorities." He urged listeners in the Black community to seek "the other side of the story" before making up their minds. "We need to make sure that we don't tar the whole department with this brush," he added. Last year the NAACP chapter presented to Moulder its "Man of the Year" award.

The next evening, over 1,000 people converged upon the Union Baptist Church to discuss Milton's beating and the response of the cops. Seven hundred people squeezed into the church sanctuary. The 300 more who could not get in filled the basement and listened to the meeting over loudspeakers. Those who came late were turned away.

Saadiq opened the program. "Let us not be deceived by smokescreens and character assassinations," he said. "The issue is there is 'no excuse.' Let us stay focused on that."

The slogan "no excuse" for cop brutality was met with overwhelming approval. Calls for Moulder's resignation met with a standing ovation.

NAACP leader Carter, in his statement to the meeting, called upon various governmental agencies such as the FBI and the State



Militant/Sara Lobman

One thousand people packed into the Union Baptist Church in Des Moines to protest the cop beating of Larry Milton.

Ombudsman's Office to investigate Milton's beating. Only then, he said, "can we do an investigation based on facts, not emotion."

Other speakers included Rev. Leon Hemdon of the Des Moines Black Ministerial Alliance and State Representative Tom Baker. Police Chief Moulder attended at the invitation of the organizers of the meeting.

The floor was opened to discussion, limited by meeting organizers to two minutes per speaker. In spite of the attempt of meeting organizers to bar the recounting of "personal testimony," many of the 30 speakers told of incidents of police brutality they, or family members, had experienced. One speaker, pointing to a scar on his forehead, said, "I have an invitation to this party that goes from here to the back of my head."

The mother of a 17-year-old, who was beaten and jailed by the cops, reported that the cops refused to release her son from jail "until his bruises heal."

The speakers were young and old, male and female, and representative of all seg-

ments of Des Moines' working class — Black, white, Latino, and Native American.

The first speaker was Keith Morris. Morris, an area businessman, is the father of a young woman the Des Moines police framed union and political activist Mark Curtis with attacking in 1988. Curtis's federal lawsuit against the Des Moines police for brutalizing him the night he was arrested was heard in a two-day trial in late November. Morris attended the trial to support the police.

Morris introduced himself to the meeting as Milton's former boss. He spoke against the beating and urged that Moulder be allowed to put his house in order.

The Register featured Morris' participation in the meeting on its front page the following day. All three local network news programs featured him as well.

The TV stations also showed Andrew Pulley, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149, who urged that more speakouts and protests be held to win the prosecution and jailing of the cops who beat Milton.

The Register quoted Shirley Peña, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. "It's not like we've got one bad apple here and one bad apple there," Peña said. "The whole barrel is rotten."

Many speakers called upon all victims of cop brutality to unite around the fight for justice for Milton. One older white worker, who recounted the story of his recent stay in jail, said about Milton, "If they come for him at night, they'll come for me in the morning."

After the open microphone part of the program ended, many in the audience called out for Chief Moulder to explain his position. As Moulder approached the

microphone, a chorus of boos descended upon him. Dozens of young people walked out in opposition to the police presence at the meeting.

Moulder opened his remarks by saying he "would like to say to Mr. Milton that I am terribly sorry for what happened to him." He then proceeded to argue that the force used by the cops was necessary, because Milton was uncontrollable and allegedly grabbed for a cop's gun. After the meeting, Moulder left on vacation.

Saadiq urged those at the meeting to join him at the next meeting of the Des Moines City Council to speak out against police brutality.

City Council chambers filled to overflowing January 6 as over 200 people packed into the room. The remaining 300 filled the corridors outside and watched the proceedings over two closed-circuit monitors.

After hours of speakers and a short debate, the city council voted to hold open hearings on police brutality at a later date.

## New smear campaign

The next day, the smear campaign against Milton and opponents of police brutality deepened. The cops now claim they have a "secret witness," who says Milton was injured and bloodied before the police ever laid a hand on him. They are refusing to release the witness's name, claiming he would face retaliation.

Acting Police Chief William McCarthy threatened to seek Federal Communications Commission sanctions against radio station KUCB, claiming the station is inciting anti-cop violence because of some comments made on its daily community call-in program on police brutality. McCarthy said, "It's an almost constant agitation that goes beyond free speech."

Station general manager Saadiq has also come under fire from police officials. David Murillo, head of the Des Moines cops association, said, "His conduct with the use of radio broadcasting is atrocious. It's despicable. He's militant and irresponsible."

Opponents of the police attack have vowed to continue the battle until victory. Many added the slogan "no sellouts" as they left the city council chambers chanting "no excuse."

A fund has been set up to help defray medical costs for Milton and to help his family meet expenses. Checks payable to the Larry Milton Trust Fund should be mailed to: KUCB Radio, P.O. Box 1316, Des Moines, Iowa, 50305.

## A repeat of what happened to Mark Curtis

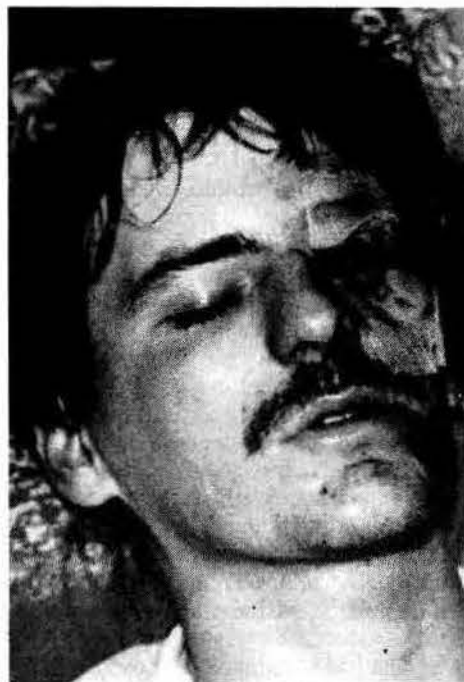
The outcry against the police beating of Larry Milton has sparked an explosion of interest in the fight for justice by Mark Curtis, a former packinghouse worker and union and political activist, who was brutalized and framed by Des Moines police in 1988.

Curtis was arrested on March 4, 1988. Earlier in the day he spoke out in Spanish at a public protest meeting in defense of 17 Mexican and Salvadoran coworkers. They had been arrested by U.S. Immigration police during a raid at the Swift/Monfort meat-processing plant.

Cops took Curtis to a room in the police station, where they stripped and cuffed him and beat him unmercifully. It took 15 stitches to close a gash opened over his eye. Curtis suffered a "blowout" fracture, where the bone is broken from the inside of the eye socket by the intense swelling, caused by the police blows. Curtis was bruised all over his body.

Like Larry Milton, Curtis has been subjected to a police campaign to turn him from the victim into the criminal. Supporters of the police have mounted a countercampaign of slander and disinformation against Curtis.

Just as the cops have filed frame-up charges against Milton, in 1988 they filed frame-up charges of rape and burglary against Curtis. He was taken through a trial that was rigged against him, and denied the right to present crucial evidence on his own behalf. Curtis was convicted on the testimony of a police officer who had previously



Militant/Stu Singer

Mark Curtis, pictured after March 1988 beating by Des Moines cops. A decision in the lawsuit Curtis filed against this attack is still pending.

been suspended from the police force for lying and brutality in another case.

Like Larry Milton, Curtis has refused to accept brutalization and victimization. Curtis filed a federal civil rights lawsuit against the City of Des Moines demanding justice

for his beating. The lawsuit brought out the facts of the long and consistent history of brutality, racism, and violation of constitutional rights by the Des Moines cops.

Curtis's suit was heard by Judge Charles Wolle November 25-26. A decision is still pending. But the judge's comments at the end of the trial mirror the sentiment of working people in Des Moines that there is "no excuse" for brutality.

"The photographs of Mark Curtis that have been entered into evidence here," Judge Wolle stated, commenting on how the case would look to a juror, "show a heck of an injury. It appears that these injuries happened after the plaintiff was taken to the ground, cuffed, turned on his back, was wearing only his pants, and was surrounded by four officers. I think those jurors would ask themselves why was it necessary for Mr. Curtis to end up with these injuries?"

John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, told a meeting of defense supporters January 7, "This is what the cops do. They don't 'serve and protect,' they threaten and brutalize. And to get away with it, they frame working people up."

"The cops manufacture evidence and use a 'criminal justice' system that is set up to favor them at every step to put workers behind bars and intimidate others from fighting back," Studer said. "Well, Larry Milton and Mark Curtis are fighting back. We join to say: 'no excuse!'"

—S.P. and J.S.



# 'Solidarity needed to dismantle apartheid'

## Interview with African National Congress official Neo Mnumzana

BY GREG McCARTAN

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Since his release from apartheid's jails in February 1990, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela has traveled throughout Africa, Europe, the Americas, Asia, and the Pacific.

In the countries he has visited, Mandela has been accorded the status of a visiting state president. Many of his tours have included speaking to mass rallies and other events attended by those who oppose apartheid. Others, such as his early December trip to the United States, have focused on meetings with government officials, international bodies such as the United Nations, and other state events.

One of the African National Congress (ANC) leaders who has accompanied Mandela on many of these trips is Neo Mnumzana. In an interview here he explained the reception Mandela receives abroad, the ANC president's message to those who identify with the struggle against apartheid, and how supporters of the fight for a nonracial, democratic South African republic can aid the struggle.

Mnumzana is a member of the Secretariat's Office of ANC president Mandela, Political Assistant to ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and Chairperson Oliver Tambo, the head of Foreign Policy Research for the ANC, and in the International Relations Department, directing work in Europe and the Americas.

Asked about the reception from working people on the African continent to the ANC, he pointed out that African countries "have been engaged in the struggle against apartheid for a long time. There is an emotional attachment to the struggle against apartheid, so that every victory becomes cause for excitement. When we have gone to these countries we have gone with Nelson Mandela — who is a household name with whom Africa identifies in a very profound way — particularly as a symbol of Africa's determination to rid itself of exploitative and racist experiences and to build a human future, which in South Africa means a united, nonracial, non-sexist, and democratic South Africa.

"So you can take the excitement with which Mandela is met not only as jubilation over the victories won, but more lastingly as an affirmation of the struggle for a more human future," he said.

This past July and August Mandela made his first visit since his release to Latin America and the Caribbean. The ANC president held meetings with government officials and spoke at public events in Brazil, Cuba, Jamaica, Mexico, and Venezuela.

### Reception in Cuba

In Cuba, Mandela shared the platform with President Fidel Castro at a rally in Matanzas Province on July 26. The event celebrated the thirty-eighth anniversary of the attack by Cuban revolutionary fighters on the Moncada barracks, opening a new chapter in the struggle against the pro-imperialist dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, and the initiation of the battles that would open the first socialist revolution in the Americas.

Asked why Mandela thought it necessary to visit Cuba given the unremitting hostility of the U.S. government toward the revolution, Mnumzana said, "The answer lies in the remarks made by Nelson Mandela when he spoke to the Cuban people in Matanzas, where he laid emphasis on the fact that Cuban internationalist solidarity had played an important role in the struggle for the decolonization of Africa and in the struggle against neocolonialism in Africa.

"A particularly important role was played in the struggle for the overthrow of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and in the resistance to apartheid's incursions into that country. Nelson Mandela," Mnumzana said, "has always wanted to go to Cuba to thank the Cuban people for the solidarity that has made all this possible."

By far the most significant mission was that in Angola. Thousands of Cubans fought in Angola from 1975 to 1991, risking their lives to defend that country from invasions by the South African regime.

In 1988 they were decisive in stopping a massive invasion from South Africa. Together with Angolan troops and forces from the South West African Peoples' Organization from Namibia, they defeated the inva-



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Fidel Castro greets Nelson Mandela at Havana airport July 1991 (left). African National Congress leader Neo Mnumzana (right) accompanied Mandela on many of his recent trips, including Mandela's visit to Cuba. International solidarity must become more conscious and politically sophisticated in order to dismantle apartheid, said Mnumzana.

sion by the apartheid regime at the historic battle of Cuito Cuanavale.

Given the enormous economic and political challenges before the Cuban revolution, some in Cuba today question whether or not the internationalist commitment to Africa has been worth the sacrifices made.

Mnumzana said that Mandela did not attempt to influence the decisions of the Cuban people as to whether or not the outcome of the internationalist mission was worth the human, military, and economic commitment made in Angola.

"Only the Cuban people in the end can answer that question," he said. "We can say with confidence that it is very healthy and stands Cuba in good stead that there can be a free and open discussion of such an important contribution by the Cuban people to the struggle for the realization of the aspirations of the people of Africa, and by extension, the struggle of all oppressed people struggling for a better future all over the world.

"We are bound in the spirit of democracy, in the spirit of respect for Cuba's national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and freedom to honor whatever positions emerge from that discussion," the ANC leader said.

"We thought it was very important for us to go to the Cuban people and give them our assessment and appreciation of Cuban internationalist solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of Africa," he said, "and to thank them for that solidarity."

Mnumzana said that Mandela "also wanted to go and see for himself what gains had been made in the Cuban revolution, and what problems were being encountered, and to the extent possible, how these problems were being tackled. Because our struggle, like all other struggles, stands to benefit from the experiences of all peoples who have been engaged in struggle and are engaged in struggle.

"In short, we went to Cuba partly for the same reasons we went to the United States, with the difference of course that Cuba — in terms of its experiences — holds more parallels to our struggle: past, present, and for the foreseeable future.

One feature of the rest of the Latin American tour, he said, was the need "to combat the impression that the struggle against apartheid was over. At every opportunity Nelson Mandela had to remind our friends and supporters that the unbanning of the ANC and other political organizations, his release from prison along with the release of many other political prisoners, the return of many political exiles, and the fact that the government and the ANC were speaking did not spell the end of apartheid. It did not even mean the beginning of negotiations for a free, united, nonracial, nonsexist, and democratic South Africa."

### More politically conscious

Mandela "went to great lengths to explain that in the current situation we would need even more solidarity than we needed before,"

Mnumzana said, "and that this solidarity would have to become more politically conscious and more politically sophisticated than it had been in the past. This is because it has to be based on an understanding that the removal of the outward trappings of apartheid did not amount to the dismantling of apartheid itself."

Mnumzana also explained what the ANC is asking working people, organizations opposed to apartheid, and other partisans of struggle in South Africa to do today.

Trade unions and other groups "can most effectively contribute to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa by making available support to their equivalent groups in South Africa — meaning South African trade unions, and interest and pressure groups.

"This support would aim to strengthen the hand of these groups inside South Africa in order for them to contribute even more ef-

fectively to the struggle against apartheid," he said.

"For a long, long time, for example, apartheid has deprived our people of training and deprived them of skills which are needed. Trade unions can make available training that would make our trade unions even more effective than they are. Civic organizations in the United States and all over the world can provide training for civic organizations in South Africa.

"Schools in the United States," he pointed out, "can help salvage schools in South Africa by helping to equip them with all the necessary material to guarantee that educational opportunities are expanded, the quality of education is improved, and that the very quality of school premises is upgraded to decent and human levels." He said this included books, pencils, pens, writing pads, sports and recreational equipment, and games.

## California governor proposes drastic welfare program cuts

BY JIM ALTENBERG

SAN FRANCISCO — California governor Peter Wilson has proposed to drastically cut Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) payments and curtail the rights of people who receive them. Cloaked in demagoguery about reducing taxes and balancing the state budget, Wilson's "Taxpayer Protection Act" is part of an ongoing campaign to convince working people and the middle class that welfare payments are the cause of high taxes.

The measure, which Wilson aims to put on the 1992 general election ballot, immediately cuts all AFDC payments by 10 percent. An additional cut of 15 percent would be imposed on any family with an "able-bodied" adult which continues to receive AFDC grants after six months. AFDC payments would not be increased for a mother who has a child while receiving welfare.

The measure also attacks the rights of youth. Teenage mothers would be forced to live with their parents to receive AFDC. Checks would be made out to the parents or legal guardians. Payments would be cut by \$50 per month for a teenage parent who drops out of school and increased by \$50 if he or she stays in.

In recent weeks, Wilson has waged a vicious campaign against immigrants and others who move to California. He has referred to immigrants as "tax recipients," whom he blames for the state's poor fiscal condition and the squeeze on middle class "taxpayers." Newspaper editorials claim that California's allegedly generous welfare system attracts "welfare-dependent individuals" from other

states and countries, and that the state's taxpayers are unfairly burdened with paying for the poor of the whole nation. Wilson's ballot measure proposes that anyone moving into the state be prohibited from receiving higher AFDC payments than the maximum available in their previous state for 12 months.

AFDC payments, already meagre in a state with some of the country's highest housing costs, were cut by 4 percent last year. The state government also imposed a five-year freeze on increases in AFDC and California's portion of Social Security payments for aged, blind, and disabled people. A family of three, for example, now receives up to \$663 per month, plus \$77 in food stamps. Many pay well over half their income for rent alone. Over 2.8 million people in the state now receive AFDC, one and a half million of whom are children. This is an increase of 14 percent over last year, an indication of how hard the recession has hit California.

In addition to these cuts, Wilson has also asked the legislature to cut AFDC funding by 4.5 percent in 1992, eliminate an income tax credit for renters, and cut state employees' salaries by 5 percent.

The "Taxpayer Protection Act" also proposes that the governor be given the power to declare a "fiscal emergency" if the state budget is not passed by July 1 or is out of balance by 3 percent at any time. In an "emergency," the governor would be able to order spending cuts in virtually any item in the budget. Protected from such cuts would be interest payments on the state's debts to banks and bondholders and some areas of education.



# South African leader discusses fight for liberation of women

BY MARY ZINS

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — As part of the fight for a democratic, nonracial, nonsexist South Africa, women's groups from throughout South Africa will meet in January to formulate a Charter for Women's Rights.

ANC Women's League president Gertrude Shope outlined the political perspectives and goals for the meeting in an interview here. The league is made up of women who are also members of the African National Congress.

The organization is working with other women's groups to draw together a "loose coalition that embraces the entire countryside," Shope said. "We want to bring every woman into discussing the Charter for Women's Rights; rural women, professionals, workers, housewives and others."

Speaking to the opening session of the ANC Youth League Congress December 9, Shope explained the importance of the fight for women's rights in the national, democratic revolution in South Africa. "Liberation can never be complete without the liberation of women," she said. "We should fight for affirmative action which means equal rights and equal status for women."

"We need to overcome the idea of 'liberation before education.' This has been very detrimental to the struggle," she said, and has severely restricted opportunities for education and advancement. "We must assist the development of all the skills of the people of South Africa. We need weekend literacy programs and libraries."

Shope urged the youth delegates to involve women in the struggle, and said "we must fight against the lack of acknowledgment of women's contributions."

In the interview Shope said that the ANC Women's League and other groups initiated the campaign for the Charter for Women's Rights September 27. "We have focused in on four issues: equal pay for equal work, maternity leave, working conditions, and child care. We don't see the Charter as something that the leaders draw up and just hand down. Our aim is for all women to contribute. Women in different fields know what affects them, so they are in the best position to say what they want."

While the Women's League has joined with other groups such as Black Sash, Women for Peace, KONTAC, and others in the past to address questions such as violence against women, Shope said an even broader alliance is joining in the discussions on the Charter. She pointed to a successful regional meeting in southern Natal held in early December as an example of the possibilities for uniting women from different political, social, and economic backgrounds.

The ANC Women's League, the Federated Women's Institutes of Natal and KwaZulu, and the Business and Professional Women's Association joined together to form the Southern Natal Coalition for a Charter for Women's Rights.

## Discrimination in employment

Shope said the League works closely with the Coalition of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) Women's Forum in addressing issues of concern for working women. "There is still extensive job segregation in South Africa," she said. "Black women make very, very low pay compared to white women; even compared to Black men, Black women's pay is very low."

"Large numbers of women are still employed as domestic workers," Shope said. "With the exception of the mining industry, a few women are now working in heavy industry. Their numbers are very small, and most women are concentrated in the textile, food processing, electronics, and laundry industries." Women working in industry are often not paid the same wages as men, Shope said. For both of these reasons, "We need affirmative action in favor of women that would include equal pay for equal work."

"The laws of the Bantustans oppress women further," she said. "Their husbands have to leave to find work in the mines, municipalities, and railways. The women are left behind. Most women only find work washing for someone or working in the fields for very low pay."

What money women earn or receive from their husbands is "not enough to maintain themselves and their children," she continued. The Women's League is working to set up workshops to teach the women handicrafts in the rural areas. Coupled with literacy projects this will "help the women develop their minds and give them more social independence."

## Discussion on abortion rights

Shope also discussed a series of recent reports highlighting the serious medi-



Militant/Greg McCartan  
Women in KwaNdebele, South Africa. Most rural women find work washing clothes or working in the fields for very low pay.

cal problems women face due to the fact that abortion is largely illegal.

A study released December 1 by the Abortion Reform Action Group reported that 250,000 illegal abortions are performed each year in South Africa. Abortions are permitted in South Africa only in cases of serious health risks, fetal physical or mental defects, or in cases of rape or incest.

The Department of Health says there were 756 legal abortions in 1990. In one Soweto hospital alone, an average of 300 women are admitted each month for incomplete abortions.

"The ANC does not yet have a policy on abortion rights," Shope said. "The Women's League is discussing this question. Women have to go to 'back door' abortionists because legal abortions are not readily available." Shope says she supports abortion rights because "it is the right of every woman to do what she wants with her body. There are many reasons a woman may not want to have another child, whether it be they cannot afford it, or any other reason."

Shope said that opponents of abortion rights use the same arguments as in other countries. "They say it is killing the baby," she said. She hopes abortion rights will be included in the Charter for Women's Rights.

Shope said women have been very much involved in the fight against apartheid, and many women are among those who have given their lives to the struggle.

"You must be a member of the ANC to join the Women's League, but not all women in the ANC are members of the League. It is a voluntary decision to join," she explained. While women are very active in the struggle today and are part of building branches of the ANC, "both women and men forget about women when it comes to elections" for office or delegates to conferences, she said.

A document on women's rights adopted by the ANC in May 1990 has helped to raise consciousness on this question. She was encouraged that this year's ANC Youth League Congress had more women delegates than the youth congress two years ago, noting "young people are more open and we have more consciousness on this question."

The fact that the ANC is the main political organization campaigning for women's rights, and has made public the position paper on women has helped the ANC "win support among other racial groups, especially the women," Shope said. She added that the organization is translating this document and the draft constitution into the various languages spoken in the country.



Militant/Greg McCartan  
Women at rally in Johannesburg demanding the release of political prisoners.

## WORLD NEWS BRIEFS



### Ousted president of Georgia flees to resort in Armenia

The autocratic president of Georgia, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, was ousted January 6 by opposition forces. He fled Georgia's capital Tbilisi as rebels stormed the Parliament building where he was pinned down since mid-December with a few hundred loyalist troops.

His Mercedes Benz escorted by 60 armed guards was soon spotted in a resort in Armenia.

Gamsakhurdia was elected president last May. He soon began closing down opposition newspapers and jailing opponents.

The opposition includes the Liberal Democratic Party, Christian Democratic Union, National Congress, and National Democratic Party. These parties did not attempt to mobilize working people to topple the Georgian regime, despite deep hatred toward Gamsakhurdia.

Demonstrations demanding his resignation were first organized following the toppling of the August 19 coup in the former Soviet Union.

Opposition forces, which had declared a military council January 2, named Tengiz Sigua as head of a provisional government. Sigua, a former prime minister, was sacked by Gamsakhurdia from his post last August. The opposition has called for Georgia to join the Commonwealth of Independent States, founded by 11 former Soviet republics December 21.

### As Germany slides into recession Washington-Bonn rivalries grow

"We are in a recession now and we won't emerge from it in the first half of 1992," said Norbert Walter, chief economist for Germany's Deutsche bank.

The gross national product in the western part of Germany fell 0.5% in the second and third quarters in 1991. Taking into account the sluggish economy of the eastern part, acquired since reunification, the drop is higher. Orders in manufacturing have declined since July, industrial output has fallen steadily since September, and unemployment is on the rise.

At the same time, Germany's imperialist government has taken more steps to advance its interests internationally regardless of the wishes or complaints of other imperialist powers.

The latest quarrel came around Bonn's insistence on recognizing the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. Washington and most European Community (EC) governments opposed this course. Following Germany's unilateral recognition the rest of the EC members followed suit. Bonn has also refused to heed Washington's demands for lower EC agricultural subsidies.

Bonn's new assertiveness "is going to be difficult for us to stomach," responded a U.S. state department official.

### Headline stories in the news

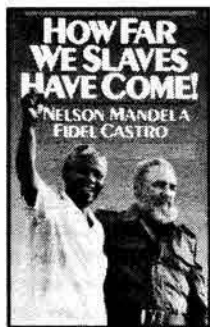
**Nicaragua:** The Nicaraguan Parliament upheld a veto by President Violeta Chamorro of legislation that would have invalidated land and housing titles granted by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The massive distribution of land, houses, cars and money by the FSLN, carried out after it lost the February 1990 elections and prior to Chamorro taking office, is popularly known as the "piñata." FSLN leader Daniel Ortega had stated that if the parliament had overturned the veto "chaos and violence would reign in Nicaragua."

**Poland:** The government of Jan Olszewski announced it would slow down an unpopular program of selling state enterprises in trouble to capitalist investors. It will concentrate instead on helping the companies. An earlier plan to sell off 25 percent of the state-owned industries was killed by the lower house of Parliament last year.

**Cuba:** President Fidel Castro announced December 22 that Cuba will recognize the independence of all the former Soviet republics. Ukraine and Cuba have already signed a three-year trade and collaboration agreement. Beginning January 1 Cuba and Lithuania embarked on a joint venture to produce electric meters. Diplomatic relations were established with Latvia in December.

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# Capitalism can't solve society's problems, says Cuban economist

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

NEW YORK — Carlos Tablada recently completed a five-week speaking tour of university and college campuses across the United States. A strong supporter of the Cuban revolution, he teaches economics at the University of Havana.

Tablada, 43, is the author of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*. His book won a prestigious literary award in 1987 from the Havana-based Casa de las Américas. An English-language edition was published by Pathfinder.

This was Tablada's second visit to the United States. In the spring of 1990 he conducted a tour of more than two dozen cities and 28 college campuses where he presented the ideas contained in his book on Che Guevara. Previously he toured Canada as well as 10 Western European countries. He has also lectured in 9 countries in Latin America.

In an interview the Cuban economist remarked that on this visit, he already knew a number of professors and scholars in the United States. "I have friends in the academic community. We have even participated in international seminars; we've exchanged correspondence and books."

Tablada was invited by a broad range of professors, university departments, and student organizations. His visit was coordinated by the Faculty Ad Hoc Committee for the Tablada Tour, made up of academic figures at the New School for Social Research in New York. He spoke at 28 campuses in 14 cities, from the University of California in Los Angeles to the Borough of Manhattan Community College. Altogether more than 4,000 people got a chance to hear the Cuban economist, overwhelmingly students and other young people.

At first the U.S. State Department indicated it might not grant Tablada a visa to enter the United States. This sparked outrage among the dozens of professors around the country who had invited and organized meetings for him on their campuses. The State Department was flooded with telephone calls and telegrams demanding the Cuban scholar be allowed to come and speak. "These were by no means all radical professors," Tablada noted. They held a wide range of political views, but all believed strongly that people in the United States had a right to hear a Cuban professor and that he should be granted a visa.

## Defense of academic freedom

"So there was a very positive reaction by these professors in defense of academic freedom and the free exchange of ideas. It made



Carlos Tablada (center) speaking at Glendale College in Los Angeles, California, during his 1991 tour. Professor Carlos Ugalde (left) coordinated Tablada's tour in the Los Angeles area. On the right is Judy White, interpreter.

them more committed to help organize the tour and make it a success."

The Cuban economist again found a great deal of interest in Cuba here during this visit, particularly among youth. He also noticed a difference in the reaction of his U.S. audiences between his first and second tours. "When I came to the United States for the first time, in April and May of 1990, it was after the fall of the Berlin Wall, after the disaster of Stalinist socialism in Eastern Europe, he explained. Everyone thought Cuba was next. 'The press in this country was saying Fidel Castro's fall was imminent. Some even said Castro wouldn't last past July or December of that year.'"

But this time, on Tablada's second visit to this country, people saw that these predictions by the big-business media had not proved accurate and that Cuba continues on a socialist course. This sparked curiosity in what made Cuba different from other countries with governments that called themselves communist, he said.

In addition, "this visit was quite an experience for me because I had never been in a developed capitalist country during an economic recession. I saw how it has affected different layers of society," Tablada added. Because of this situation, "the public has been more thoughtful, more open" to what he had to say.

Tablada commented that his visit to the United States gave him firsthand confirmation that "the capitalist model of the developed countries is not improving conditions for the average citizen in the United States, it is making them worse. Working people are facing greater problems with drug addiction and diseases such as tuberculosis and AIDS."

"There is greater unemployment and real wages have gone down. The government is cutting funds for health care, social security, and education. People feel more alienated. They are saying, 'What do I have?' The American dream that working people still held up through the 1980s is fading."

"For capitalists, the profit rate, which is one of the main factors that measure the efficiency of the capitalist economy, continues to decline. It is now at the lowest level in history."

## Worsening conditions

In the semicolonial world conditions are even worse, Tablada pointed out. "In much of Latin America, living standards have declined throughout the 1980s, back to the level of the 1960s."

In the face of this devastating economic and social crisis, the Cuban economist said, "the only solution that capitalists offer is neoliberalism — the establishment of a 'free market economy' in the underdeveloped capitalist countries. It means removing trade barriers, eliminating all laws that protect these countries' native industries and agriculture, and opening their markets to the products of the multinational corporations. It means carrying out the economic policies demanded by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in order to receive loans."

Because of capitalism, Tablada said, "270 million people in Latin America live below the poverty level, out of a population of 472 million. There are 30 million homeless children in the cities of Latin America. In Costa Rica, which used to be portrayed as an example of efficient and humane capitalism, now two out of five families live in poverty."

Tablada also pointed to the massive upheavals in Eastern Europe that led to the crumbling of the Stalinist regimes there. Be-

cause of the economic dislocation in that region, "there has been a wave of immigration to Western Europe. And now the Western governments, which for decades had sold the idea to the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union that they would live well if they sought refuge there, have been deploying their military and their police to try to hold back that massive immigration."

"I had said on my earlier visit here that what was going to happen was the Latin-Americanization of the Eastern European countries. And by now many working people in countries like Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania have living standards that could be compared to Latin American countries."

These realities, he stated, underline the fact that "the greatest crisis facing the world is capitalism. Capitalism is 500 years old but hasn't solved the basic problems of humanity. And it cannot solve these problems."

## The ideas of Che Guevara

This is what makes the ideas of Che Guevara so important, the Cuban author emphasized. "I realize I wasn't invited to this country and the other 23 countries I've visited over the last three years simply because of my academic work, but because of the ideas of Ernesto Che Guevara, which are presented in my book. These ideas have left their stamp on socialism in Cuba."

Guevara, an Argentine-born revolutionary, was part of the central leadership of the Cuban revolution that overthrew the Batista dictatorship in 1959. He took on major responsibilities in the new revolutionary government as leader of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, president of the National Bank, and then minister of industry. In 1965 he left Cuba to participate in revolutionary movements in the Congo and later in Bolivia. In 1967, while leading a guerrilla group that was fighting the military dictatorship in Bolivia, he was captured and killed by the U.S.-trained military.

Millions of youth and working people around the world look to the example of Che Guevara as a fighter, Tablada noted. "Che practiced everything he said and gave his life for these political perspectives. He was a man of integrity. That is why I think Che's ideas have such an impact and why they will have an even greater impact in the future. What can capitalism put forth as an alternative to Che's work? Oliver North's book! They're trying to present North as a hero in this country. But this capitalist society is incapable of producing any moral alternative."

Che, however, is not simply a symbol or moral example, he stressed. "That's important, but more importantly, Che was a communist. Che made an economic and political contribution." Paraphrasing Fidel Castro's 1987 speech on the 20th anniversary of Guevara's death, he stated, "Without Che's ideas we cannot build socialism and communism."

The message that defenders of capitalism always repeat, said the Cuban author, "is that communism doesn't work, that it's just another utopia. They admit that capitalism hasn't solved all problems, but claim that if you make an effort, you can advance. All you have to do is develop your individualism, turn inward, take refuge in your family. Poverty and social inequality are unavoidable, they say, and if you want to combat them, give to charity or better yourself individually. That's the only message capitalism has."

Che rejected this view. "He said human beings aren't animals. No matter how much capitalism tries to brutalize humans, even trying to turn love into a commodity, making it a form of material consumption, it doesn't succeed in doing so. Even the most alienated people under capitalism seek a less alienated society. Che said capitalism can't solve humanity's problems, either material or moral problems."

## Workers overturn capitalism in Cuba

The example of the Cuban revolution refuted the arguments of those who defend

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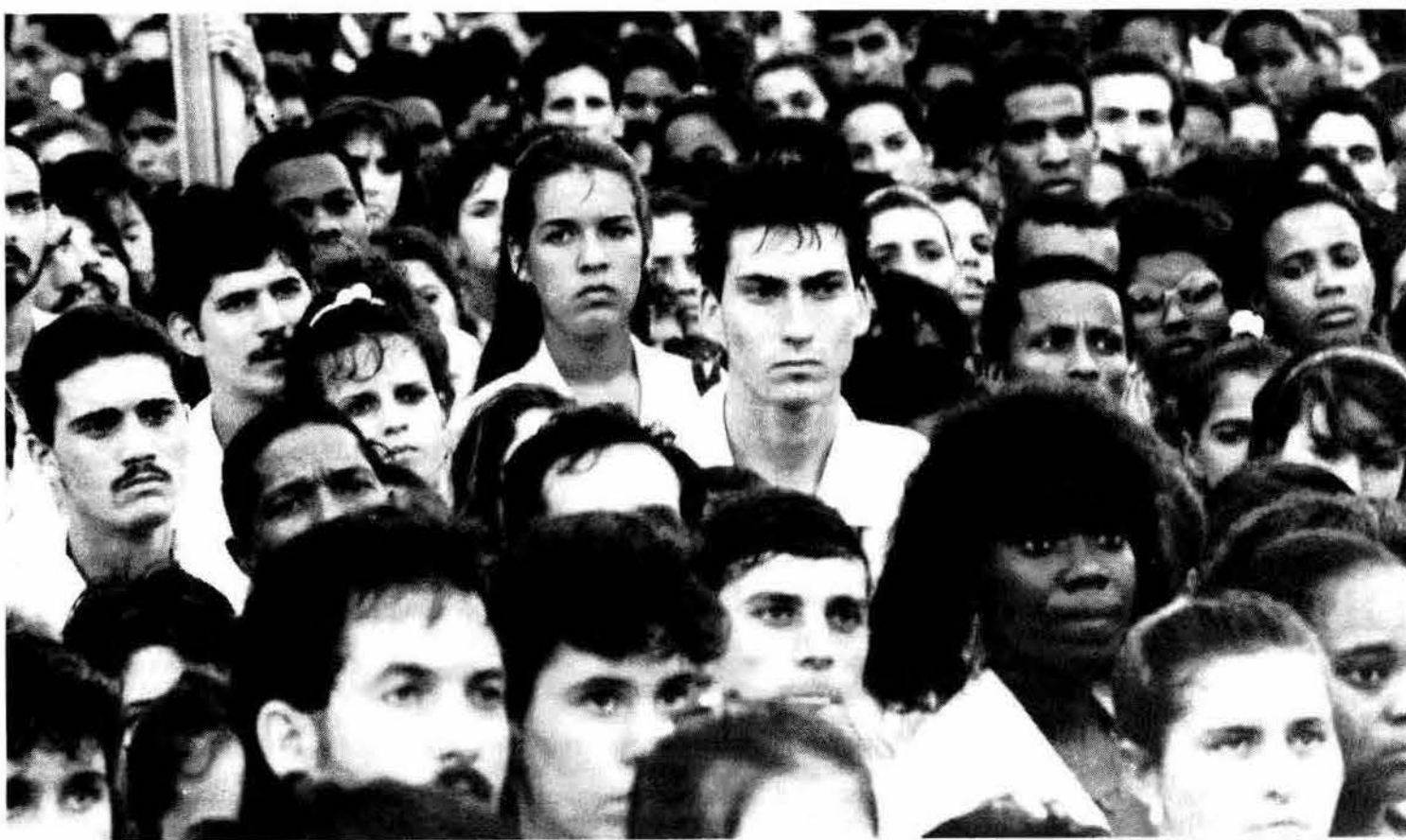
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Members of the Federation of University Students of Cuba at November 1991 rally commemorating the 120th anniversary of the shooting of eight students by Spanish colonial authorities. 'The rectification process has opened the doors to several waves of youth between the ages of 19 and 23 who have joined the Communist Party of Cuba,' said Carlos Tablada.

capitalism. Workers and farmers in Cuba overturned the private profit system of capitalism and replaced it with a government that puts the needs of working people first.

"The Cuban revolution was a heresy, not only from the point of view of bourgeois culture, but from the point of view of Soviet Marxism," Tablada continued. "In the 1950s the Soviet model was the dominant Marxism in the world. According to Soviet Marxism, it was impossible to make a revolution and take power in Cuba."

"But my people took power on Jan. 1, 1959. We made deep structural changes. We carried out a land reform. We defeated the United States at Playa Girón [the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion]. We built a socialist system that is participatory and democratic. We survived the [1962] Missile Crisis. We defeated the counterrevolutionaries. None of this would have happened if we had followed Soviet Marxism," Tablada declared.

"We have achieved a social development in which my people now have a quality of life that is comparable to the developed countries in the world. In Moscow, life expectancy is 62 years, while in Cuba, which is more underdeveloped and has a lower gross national product, average life expectancy is 76 years. In Moscow infant mortality is 33 per 1,000 live births, while in Cuba it is 10.7. In the United States the figure is 10, to give you an idea."

"Another contribution Che made was explaining that simply by making a revolution in property relations where the means of production, the banks, and foreign trade are put in the hands of the people — this by itself doesn't guarantee that a socialist or communist society will be built."

"Che stressed that the building of socialism is a conscious process, unlike capitalism," with its anarchic market forces, the Cuban economist explained. "Consequently, together with developing production there must be a process of developing people's consciousness."

"Che wrote that one of Stalin's great crimes was to have substituted uncontrolled worship of authority for communist education. Stalin and the Soviet bureaucratic caste eliminated communist education in the process of production, the organization of society, and the development of the Soviet man and woman. That is why it was unable to develop a socialist society, leading to the results we see in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union."

Tablada added that during Guevara's time, "everything that departed from Soviet socialism was denounced as revisionism. It was like the Vatican during the Inquisition. To disagree with Moscow was to be a heretic."

#### 'Che read everything'

"But Che wasn't dogmatic or prejudiced. He read everything. Che recommended studying not only Marx, Engels, and Lenin, but writers like Aristotle. Among the Marxists, he didn't hesitate to say it was also necessary to study Trotsky — who was and in part is still considered the Devil — be-

cause he was indisputably a leader of the Russian revolution. He also recommended studying revisionists such as Khrushchev."

When the Cuban revolution triumphed, most economists, who were U.S.-trained, left the country, Tablada explained. The new schools of economics included many Soviet economic programs. "Che visited a Cuban school of economics in December 1964 and began his speech to the students saying, 'I came to tell you to do something you're not used to doing, that is, to think for yourselves, because all you have is manuals on economics.'"

"Che reached the conclusion, as early as November or December of 1960, that Cuba shouldn't apply the Soviet model, because it departed from the essence of socialist and communist principles. The model that was developed in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe — after the Russian revolution began to be distorted and killed — was not socialism. Che says that in his works."

The Cuban revolutionary leader "understood that the Soviet model, just like the capitalist economic models around the world, put people at the service of the economy. And he said a socialist society must put the economy at the service of the people. Socialism must concern itself not just with production, distribution, consumption, and technical relations between people, but with raising the cultural and ideological values and the level of consciousness of the workers, managers, and leaders. More importantly, it must concern itself with the real participation of the working class in the decision-making process. Che realized that if socialism is not democratic, it isn't socialism."

#### Rectification process

Tablada described how Che's political perspectives were abandoned in Cuba in the years following his death. "From the beginning there were two tendencies in the Cuban revolution." One, he stated, was the communist leadership represented by Guevara and Fidel Castro. "But there was another tendency that favored applying the Soviet economic model. They were, and are, revolutionaries. They supported the Soviet system, not from the point of view of a bureaucratic caste trying to win privileges, but because of the dominant ideological influence of the Soviet Union in the revolutionary world. Soviet society was idealized."

"That tendency became the majority opinion in the Communist Party of Cuba in the 1970s. And since in my country we have a collective leadership — that is, Fidel isn't a dictator — we began to establish this model. So beginning in 1974-75, we committed the grave error of copying the Soviet model for 10 years."

"What began to happen was what Fidel and Che had warned us about. In the name of socialism we were applying measures and relations that were clearly capitalist and had nothing to do with socialism."

Cuba began to rely increasingly on capitalist methods to administer the economy that, for example, gave more weight to ful-

filling production quotas than to meeting social needs and producing quality goods. This led to the increasing demobilization and demoralization of working people and to the growth of a conservative bureaucratic layer in the state apparatus."

"So a process of rectification was begun, in November 1984 on the economic level and in 1986 on the social and political level," to reverse this trend, Tablada said. "This has been a struggle where the people have been reconquering the space that the bureaucracy had taken away from them. This struggle has been restricting the bureaucracy's power. We started to do the



On a day off from his busy tour schedule, Tablada joined an international volunteer brigade to help on the reconstruction of the Pathfinder Building in New York. The building houses Pathfinder, publisher of writings by Tablada on Che Guevara's economic thought.

things we had stopped doing."

Tablada referred to the building of hospitals and schools — done in large part through the mobilization of thousands of volunteers — as well as advancing the struggle for women's equal participation in society and efforts to combat the capitalist legacy of racism.

As part of the rectification process Cuba's revolutionary leadership also called for reconquering Che Guevara's communist ideas. "On the 20th anniversary of Che's death, Fidel described Che's thought, particularly his economic and political thought, as the essence of the rectification process."

The Cuban economist recalled that voluntary labor, which had been abandoned during the 1970s, was revived with the launching of rectification.

Now, however, because of the disruption in Cuba's trade with Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, "volunteer labor continues, but it is limited in the non-priority industries as a result of the economic short-

ages. About 85 percent of our trade was with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Cuban-Soviet trade has decreased by 60 percent compared to 1989. We have big shortages of raw materials. We've had to close down plants and reduce work hours." The use of volunteer labor has continued to play a role in priority sectors of the economy, he said, such as the development of agriculture and the construction of biotechnology plants.

#### Cuba's international solidarity

Tablada commented that before the rectification fight was launched, "we were becoming corrupted in the economic sphere. But we were not corrupted in the area of international politics. That period of 1975-85 was precisely where my people's internationalism became a massive activity."

"Not only did more than 300,000 Cubans serve in Angola over these years, but 160,000 Cubans have gone to more than 100 countries as doctors, nurses, teachers, workers, engineers, and technicians. They've lived like the ordinary people in those countries. And we haven't asked for a penny in return. The Cuban internationalists have been financed by our own people. All this has made us stronger."

In addition to the Cuban volunteers abroad, he added, "Twenty-four thousand international students are studying in Cuba on scholarships. Cuba has the largest number of scholarship students per capita of any country in the world." Many of these are students from African and other countries oppressed by imperialism.

"Even though we are going through the

most critical economic situation in the history of the revolution, no Cuban would even think of expelling these 24,000 foreign students from our country. Nor would any Cuban consider demanding the return of the Cuban doctors who are serving on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast or the 4,000 doctors we have in Third World countries. The day that happens is the day our revolution will begin to die. It is impossible to be a revolutionary and a communist without being an internationalist."

He added, "We understand that in the long run a revolution in a single country can't survive. The revolution must be extended. Revolutions can't be exported, but revolutionaries must respond to international counterrevolution by supporting revolutionary movements in countries where these struggles occur."

Tablada recalled what it meant for him and many other Cubans when Nelson Mandela, president of the African National

Continued on next page



# Socialists set goals for 'Militant' sales on the job

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

This column initiates what we hope will be a regular feature of the *Militant* — reports on sales of the paper in the plants, working-class communities, and at important protest actions.

One important arena of activity for *Militant* supporters in the United States will be increasing and regu-

The *Militant's* expanded coverage of the fight to end apartheid in South Africa is receiving an excellent response. Bundle orders are up with many areas having ordered extra copies of the January 10 edition, which featured five pages of eyewitness reporting, including coverage of the historic December 20-21 Congress for a Democratic

joint team to Dubuque received an excellent response on the college campus and at plant gates there. *Militant* sales were brisk to the 80 participants in a "Coping with Racism" forum held December 10 at the University of Dubuque. The team also sold 6 copies to members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union at a large FDL meat-packing plant in the area. In one day the team sold 23 single copies of the *Militant*, 2 subscriptions, and \$75 in Pathfinder literature. In addition, 17 people signed up for more information on the Young Socialist Alliance.

A *Militant* sales team from Chicago also spent a weekend in Dubuque. They sold 27 copies of the *Militant*, including 6 to one high school student who planned on distributing them to his friends. The team spoke to a cross section of working people, the majority of whom opposed the cross burnings. "I agree that affirmative action is good and that it is a union issue on which we should take a stand," stated one Teamster member.

Supporters of the *Militant* and Pathfinder books met a warm response in Houston when Nelson Mandela came to town in early December. Sales totals included 50 sin-

gle copies of the *Militant*, 4 subscriptions, 22 copies of the Pathfinder pamphlet, *Nelson Mandela: Speeches 1990*; and 23 copies of the book *How Far We Slaves Have Come!*

At a reception following his speech at Texas Southern University, Mandela autographed a copy of *How Far We Slaves Have Come!* and requested another copy for his personal use.

*Militant* supporters from Boston are organizing teams to New Hampshire as campaigning by Democratic and Republican presidential candidates intensifies for the upcoming primary election there. Working people throughout New Hampshire have been particularly hard hit by the effects of the ongoing recession. There is increased anger against the government as growing numbers are losing their jobs and homes. In response, supporters in Boston have adopted a combined *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* goal of selling 150 single copies and 20 subscriptions in the weeks leading up to the February 18 primary election.

The *Militant's* ongoing coverage of recent developments in Haiti and

continued protests against the coup has led to stepped-up sales among the sizable Haitian population living in the Newark, New Jersey, area.

A team of *Militant* supporters organized a successful sale at the buses leaving East Orange, New Jersey, for the December 13 national demonstration in Washington, D.C., against the Haiti coup. One *Militant* subscription and 12 singles were sold at the bus sites, as well as an additional 12 *Militant* singles and 4 copies of *Nouvelle Internationale* on the buses and at the demonstration. During the past month Newark supporters have also received an excellent response at tables set up at the Evergreen mall in East Orange where many Haitians shop. On two separate occasions, they have sold 11 papers in less than two hours.

Keep the reports coming on exciting sales experiences and discussions in your areas.

Sara Lobman and Chris Remple from Des Moines, Pat Smith and Rich Gaeta from Chicago, Jerry Freiwirth from Houston, Russell Davis from Boston, and Holly Harkness from Newark contributed to this column.



## GETTING THE MILITANT AROUND

larizing weekly sales of the paper at the plant gates and inside the factories. Socialists active in the industrial unions in the United States are setting goals for single copy sales of the paper to coworkers each week for an eight-week period beginning later this month. Readers in the plants are urged to send in their goals and weekly tallies, reports on how these sales are going, and what coworkers think about various articles appearing in the *Militant*.

South Africa Conference and the recent convention of the South African Communist Party.

Teams of *Militant* supporters have traveled to Dubuque, Iowa, in response to cross burnings and racist attacks against Blacks living there, introducing hundreds of students and working people to the socialist press.

Young Socialist Alliance members from Des Moines and Twin Cities who participated in one such

## 'Capitalism can't solve society's problems'

Continued from previous page

Congress of South Africa, visited Cuba and addressed a large rally together with Fidel Castro last July 26. "Mandela's explanation to my people of the significance of our internationalist work was very important.

"Mandela explained to us that during the 1960s, when the African National Congress was unknown, they went to the developed capitalist countries to ask for aid in their struggle against apartheid. They were received by low-level functionaries and received promises but no aid. Then they went to Cuba and were received by the highest authorities in my country. The Cuban leaders responded by asking, 'What do you need?' And they gave them what they asked for. That's what Nelson Mandela said. The leadership of my country had never explained this. I didn't know these facts myself."

### Volunteers for Angola

When Angola was invaded by South Africa's apartheid army in 1975 and appealed to Cuba for help, thousands of Cubans volunteered. "Africa called and we answered," Tablada declared with pride. "And our aid has not been with a conscript army. It has been completely with volunteers."

In 1987 South African troops again invaded Angola. The allied forces of Angola, Cuba, and the Namibian freedom fighters of the South West African People's Organisation crushed the apartheid invaders definitively in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in early 1988.

"The fact that Mandela went to Cuba and spoke to us at our July 26 national celebration, the fact that he humbly thanked our people for the sacrifices they made with their lives out of international solidarity with the peoples of Africa — that was the highest homage that could have been paid. Mandela explained to my people that, thanks to the Cubans who defeated the racist South African army in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale, not only was Angola free, but Namibia was free, the African National Congress was legalized in South Africa, and he was free. Thanks to the collaboration of the humble people of Cuba, apartheid had been dealt a mortal blow.

"That was a reaffirmation for my people that the road we are taking is the correct road. It's the road of not making concessions on principles, of not giving up."

When asked how the mobilization of such huge resources affected Cuba's own military defenses against U.S. threats, Tablada replied, "We risked the whole revolution. Major resources and the most modern weapons we had were taken out of Cuba for the Cuito Cuanavale operation.

"But we know this was necessary. If you're not capable of defending others, you're not capable of defending yourself. If the Cuban people were capable of giving our lives for

## “Without the Russian revolution it would have been very difficult for the Cuban revolution to win...”

other peoples, as we did in Angola, is there anything we won't be capable of doing in defense of our own land?

"Our having defeated the South African army," he continued, "pushes back the possibility of an attack on our country. If we hadn't done what we did, we wouldn't be receiving the kind of international solidarity we have gotten."

### Cuba receives solidarity

The Cuban writer noted, "The reason we are moving forward is that we receive international solidarity from the peoples of Latin America, Africa, and even the expressions of solidarity I have found in the United States. In this country there are growing voices from the most diverse sectors that say there is no justification for the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba.

One of the decisive factors in the survival of the Cuban revolution in its early years, Tablada stated, was the material aid from the Soviet Union. The United States had imposed a brutal embargo and threatened Cuba militarily.

"Before the revolution 74 percent of our exports were to the United States and 72 percent of our imports were from that country. This was cut off. If the Soviets hadn't bought and sold the products that we had traded earlier with the United States, we would have succumbed to starvation and disease. And the Soviet Union gave us arms to defend ourselves from the United States. The Cuban people will be eternally grateful to the Soviet people for this."

The Cuban economist added, "Soviet foreign policy was not, in my opinion, an internationalist policy. But it differed in most cases with the imperialists' foreign policy. It gave a lot of material aid to the anticolonial struggles in the 1950s and 60s. It limited what the imperialists could do.

"The Cuban revolution inspired the solidarity of the Soviet people. This solidarity didn't come from above, from the bureaucracy alone, but from below. It was an expression of the Russian revolution in the historic memory of the Soviet people."

### Russian revolution changed the world

Tablada pointed to the historic significance of the October 1917 Russian revolution. "Without the Russian revolution, it would have been very difficult for the Cuban

revolution to triumph. It was the greatest conscious undertaking in the history of humanity and opened the possibility of achieving a more humane and just society than capitalism, which had failed to do so in 500 years." Breaking with the reformist course of the Second International, "Lenin, along with Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, brought Marxism and the workers' movement back on a revolutionary path. That was the importance of the Bolshevik party."

However, he commented, "the bureaucratic caste that began to establish itself in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s, 30s, and 40s, departed increasingly from the principles of the Russian revolution.

"The bureaucracy turned Marxism into an instrument to justify its privileges on the level of its domestic and foreign policy.

"In spite of that, the caste existed on the basis of the existence of a workers' state. You can't explain the defeat of fascism by the Soviet Union during World War II except by the communist legacy of the Russian revolution. The industrial revolution of the late 30s and the reconstruction of the country after the war can only be explained by the legacy of the Russian revolution.

"Now the Soviet caste is striving to turn this workers' state into a completely capitalist state. But capitalism has prematurely sung its victory song, because capitalism has nothing to offer the Soviet working class."

Tablada said, "I don't consider it a misfortune that the Soviet Communist Party has disappeared, because in my opinion it stopped being communist many years ago. It's encouraging because now the real possibility opens up for communist organizations to arise again and take up the banner of the Russian revolution and its founders."

### Lessons of Nicaragua and Grenada

Tablada explained that "with the failure of the Soviet regime and the pro-Soviet Communist Parties it has been shown that our Marxism is based on the interests of the peoples of the world."

When the Cuban revolution triumphed, he remarked, "both the imperialists and the traditional left declared that it was a historical exception. The victory of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua and the Grenadian revolution were important because they showed that Cuba was not a historical exception. It was proven that, despite all the resistance and resources mobilized by imperialism, it was possible for two more home-grown revolutions to take place."

Does the subsequent overturn of these two revolutions disprove this point? Tablada replied, "Their defeat doesn't negate the Cuban revolution but just the opposite. It proves that once a revolution is made, it must be consistently taken to the end; otherwise it will be lost."

In Grenada workers and farmers replaced the capitalist regime in 1979 with their own government under the revolutionary leadership headed by Maurice Bishop. A counter-revolutionary faction in the state apparatus and ruling party violently overthrew the revolution and murdered Bishop in 1983, paving the way for the U.S. invasion of that country.

"Grenada shows the importance of revolutionary unity and revolutionary morality," Tablada underlined. "Differences among revolutionaries cannot be resolved as they were when the Russian revolution died under Stalin. Stalin killed practically all the founders of the revolution; he eliminated all the members of Lenin's Political Bureau. That hasn't happened with the Cuban revolution.

"In the case of the Sandinista revolution, it shows the importance of not making concessions on principles to the imperialists. A revolution can maintain a flexible policy and must when it's surrounded by capitalist governments, but if it makes concessions on principles it'll get its head chopped off.

"When the Sandinistas lost power in the [1990] elections, the response of the ordinary citizen in Cuba was: 'That happened because they made concessions to the empire.'"

### 'Revolution larger than ourselves'

Asked about the future of Cuba's revolution, Carlos Tablada spoke about the new generation of Cubans who have grown up during the revolution. "One of imperialism's greatest hopes was that Cuban youth would become depoliticized, lose their revolutionary ideology, and acquire a capitalist ideology or an indifference to the problems of their community.

"We were headed in that direction when we began to establish the Soviet model in economic production. But when the revolutionary internationalist missions began, it was the Cuban youth who got involved.

"The rectification process has opened space again for the people and particularly for the youth. It has opened the doors to several waves of youth between the ages of 19 and 23 who have joined the Cuban Communist Party. The average age of party members has decreased considerably during this whole period.

"We just held the fourth party congress. More than 50 percent of the Central Committee was removed and replaced with people who had never been on the Central Committee. Of the 25 members of the Political Bureau, only 4 are historic leaders of the revolution; several other historic leaders came off the bureau."

Tablada concluded by saying, "Many people have asked me during this tour: 'What's going to happen when Fidel Castro dies.' And I said to them what Fidel Castro himself told us many years ago: we have made a revolution that is larger than ourselves."



# 'JFK' film distorts role of Kennedy

Continued from front page

calls Kennedy's death a coup d'état.

But there is a fatal flaw to the movie's premise: Stone's portrayal of Kennedy is false to the core.

## The Bay of Pigs invasion

*JFK* opens with Kennedy promising, "I will be devoted to freedom." Showing scenes from the failed, U.S.-backed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, an anonymous narrator states that Kennedy refused to provide air cover for the attackers. The president, the narrator reports, "privately complained" that the CIA had deceived him.

Was Kennedy an opponent of military action against Cuba? Were the actions he authorized based on a lack of knowledge on the truth about the Cuban revolution?

A quick look at the events of 1961 are necessary to any serious appraisal of Kennedy's 1,000 days in office.

On April 17, 1961, 1,500 mercenaries — trained and armed by the CIA — invaded Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in an attempt to overthrow the government led by Castro. They were met by revolutionary militias. Two days later the invaders surrendered.

Washington had misjudged. The measures taken by Cuba's workers' and farmers' government, including providing land to the peasants, nationalization of factories, a literacy campaign, and arming the people, were tremendously popular. The revolution could not be overthrown without a massive military intervention.

Cuba began to be looked to by millions in Latin America and the world. The political price for direct U.S. involvement was higher than the rulers in Washington were willing to pay. They had to put their plans for more military action on the back burner.

But their hostility continued. Kennedy instructed the CIA to find ways to assassinate Fidel Castro. The CIA looked around and found that Mafia hit men would be ideal candidates for the mission.

According to one of Kennedy's close associates, the president was concerned not with the morality of the assassination plots, but with the reaction throughout Latin Amer-

ica if an attempt "could be pinned to the U.S."

It was the Kennedy administration that strengthened the economic embargo against Cuba, which continues to this day. In October 1962, Kennedy provoked the so-called Cuban missile crisis, threatening to attack Soviet ships headed for Cuba and bringing the world to the brink of nuclear war.

## Beginning the Vietnam War

*JFK* promotes another fable: that Kennedy was getting ready to end U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

But in Vietnam, as in Cuba, Kennedy's main concern was how to best defend U.S. imperialist interests. He increased the number of U.S. "military advisers" there from 700 in 1961 to more than 16,000 by 1963, paving the way for the sending of large numbers of combat troops.

"I don't agree with those who say we should withdraw from Vietnam," Kennedy stated September 2, 1963. "That would be a great mistake. We must be patient. We must persist."

Much is made of National Security Action Memorandum 263, which Kennedy issued a month before his death, projecting the withdrawal of 1,000 of the so-called advisers.

Most officials viewed the memo, not as a form of disengaging from the war, but as a means of pressuring Vietnamese president Ngo Dinh Diem to carry out the war the way Washington wanted.

The threatened pressure was not enough. Kennedy decided. He instructed the U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam, Henry Cabot Lodge, to encourage a coup d'état against Diem. On November 2, 1963, Diem was killed by the U.S.-backed plotters.

What the Diem assassination showed was that not only was the president of the United States willing to use the dirtiest of tricks against enemies like Castro, he was willing to use them against allies who did not follow U.S. dictates to the letter.

## The fight for civil rights

Perhaps the biggest myth around Kennedy is his supposed positive role in advancing the fight for Black rights and ending Jim Crow



John F. Kennedy meeting with military advisors during the Bay of Pigs invasion. Kennedy instructed the CIA to find ways to assassinate Castro.

segregation in the south.

In one of the most famous cases in 1963, Blacks demonstrated for weeks in Birmingham, Alabama, to demand desegregation. They were bitten by police dogs, knocked down by fire hoses, and arrested by the thousands simply for demonstrating peacefully for their rights.

But Kennedy refused to send in federal marshalls or troops to protect the demonstrators from "Bull" Connor's cops and from state troopers. He claimed he couldn't violate state rights.

Kennedy and his brother Robert, then U.S. attorney general, became agitated when some Black leaders pointed out that the administration was willing to use troops to invade foreign countries like Cuba, but not to protect Blacks in Alabama.

Thousands demonstrated around the country demanding that federal troops be sent to Birmingham. The demand that Blacks arm themselves to defend their rights became more and more popular. It was only as a result of this pressure that Kennedy took more decisive action.

Kennedy was not so reticent about using federal agents against leaders of the civil rights movement. At the urging of J. Edgar Hoover, the head of the FBI, the Kennedy brothers authorized the planting of bugs in the bedroom of Martin Luther King, Jr.

## The radical right

Kennedy, under the cover of liberal rhetoric, did his best to advance the interests of U.S. capitalism at home and abroad.

But as revolutions in the colonial world and the civil rights movement in the United States both advanced, some right-wing sectors viewed Kennedy's policies as inadequate for their goals. They wanted to turn the clock back and destroy the Cuban revolution whatever the political price. They dreamed of a return to the Jim Crow South, which was crumbling under their feet. Fascist-like groups, such as the John Birch Society, were strong in Dallas.

Dallas, in the weeks before Kennedy's assassination, echoed with threats and violence. Rightists accused Kennedy of being "pro-communist" and a traitor. Adlai Stevenson, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, was mobbed by a crowd who spat at him.

Kennedy's assassination shocked the world. Joseph Hansen, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, wrote at the time, "What odd minds these rulers have to imagine that fostering and practicing violence abroad on a rising scale for two decades, after a war that closed with Hiroshima and Nagasaki, would not finally have its reflection in domestic politics."

## Warren commission discredited

The conclusion of the Warren Commission, which investigated the Kennedy assassination, are now widely disbelieved. Few people give its hypothesis of a single bullet from a lone madman much credit.

The *Wall Street Journal* is upset at the popularity of *JFK*. "What sells it seems," the paper complains, "is precisely the hatred for the U.S. government and institutions that saturate" the movie.

The *Journal* has a crackpot theory of its own: that Fidel Castro ordered the assassi-

nation in revenge for Kennedy's orders to kill the Cuban leader.

This mouthpiece of retrograde capitalism ignores one of the facts that is well documented and clearly brought out in *JFK*: that Lee Harvey Oswald, played up after the assassination as a supporter of the Cuban revolution, was actually tied to right-wing Cuban groups. The leaflets he passed out calling for "U.S. Hands Off Cuba" had the address of an anti-Castro group stamped on them.

The paper, however, put its finger on the reasons for the movie's popularity. Thousands have viewed *JFK* in the hope of finding out more about the workings of the inner chambers of power; to find out why the truth behind Kennedy's assassination has been covered up. Significant numbers of people just don't trust the government anymore.

But they won't find much of an answer in Stone's misty-eyed — and distorted — view of the life and death of Kennedy, nor in his implausible grand conspiracy theory.

Especially after the massive movement against the war in Vietnam, the Watergate affair, and the further exposures of U.S. government dirty tricks, such as in Counter Intelligence Program (Cointelpro) documents, distrust of Washington is widespread. The Vietnam syndrome and all it entails is still alive.

At the end of *JFK*, the main character, Louisiana district attorney Jim Garrison, makes a call to the jury hearing his charges of conspiracy. He urges them, "Do not forget your dying king."

As the crisis of capitalism deepens, the rulers will seek to promote Kennedy-like liberals to sidetrack the struggle.

But no liberal "king" will lead the way against the imperialist order. The road to fighting racism, women's oppression, attacks on democratic rights, the drive to war, and the advancing economic depression lies along the same road the Vietnamese people took to expel the U.S. invaders; the road taken by the Cuban people; the road taken by the civil rights movement to end Jim Crow.

Only working people can take power out of the hands of the warmakers forever.

## —CALENDAR—

### MINNESOTA

#### Minneapolis

**Youth and the Cuban Revolution: An Eyewitness Report.** Speaker: Chris Nisan, Young Socialist Alliance. Wed., Jan. 22, 12:15 p.m. Fireplace Room, Willey Hall, University of Minnesota (West Bank). Sponsors: West Bank Union, Minnesota-Cuba Friendship Committee, Young Socialist Alliance.

### BRITAIN

#### London

**Demonstration to Stop the Asylum Bill.** Sat., January 18. Assemble at 1:00 p.m. at Embankment Tube Station. Sponsor: National Union of Students (London). Following the demonstration come to an Open House at the Pathfinder Bookshop, 47, The Cut, Waterloo, London SE1. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* video will be shown.

## Lessons of the fight against fascism

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Pathfinder Press is offering a special 25 percent discount on books and pamphlets analyzing the class basis of fascism and drawing the lessons from the fight against it. The offer, which is available to all members of the Pathfinder Readers Club, runs through January 31.

The greater hearing being gained in the United States and other imperialist countries for ultrarightist politicians such as Patrick Buchanan and David Duke give renewed importance to the question of what is fascism and how to combat it.

Fascism is truly a worldwide political question. Fascist movements, confronting labor and communist organizations in violent street battles, came to political power in Italy in the 1920s and Germany in the 1930s. Writing about these political developments, Leon Trotsky provides a Marxist analysis with rich lessons for today in the Pathfinder pamphlet *Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It*.

"Fascism, as a mass movement, is the party of counterrevolutionary despair," writes Trotsky. "Fascism comes only when the working class shows complete incapacity to take into its own hands the fate of society."

"The fascists find their human material mainly in the petty bourgeoisie. The latter has been entirely ruined by big capital," he writes. "There is no way out for [this class] in the present social order, but it knows of no other. Its dissatisfaction, indignation, and despair are diverted by the fascists away from big capital and against the workers."

"It may be said that fascism is the act of placing the petty bourgeoisie at the disposal of its most bitter enemies. In this

way big capital ruins the middle classes and then, with the help of hired fascist demagogues, incites the despairing petty bourgeois against the worker."

Included in the Pathfinder offer are the following books, pamphlets, and Education for Socialists publications:

- *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* by Leon Trotsky. The origin and nature of fascism and the working-class strategy to combat it. (discount price \$20.95)

- *Fascism and Big Business* by Daniel Guerin. Studies the relationship between fascism and the ruling capitalist families in Germany and Italy. (discount price \$14.20)

- *Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It*, a pamphlet by Leon Trotsky. (discount price \$1.50)

- *The Fight Against Fascism in the U.S.A.: Forty Years of Struggle Described by Participants* by James P. Cannon and others. (discount price \$6.75)

- *What Is American Fascism? Writings on Father Coughlin, Mayor Frank Hague, and Senator Joseph McCarthy* by James P. Cannon and Joseph Hansen. (discount price \$6)

- *Counter-mobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks* by Farrell Dobbs. (discount price \$4.50)

This offer is available at all Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or by writing Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail, include \$3 shipping, for the first title, \$.50 each additional copy.

It is still not too late to join the Pathfinder Readers Club. A year-long membership card costs \$10 at any Pathfinder bookstore.



# Rail workers should reject Conrail, government demands

BY STEVE MARSHALL

NEWARK, New Jersey — Widespread layoffs, harder work over longer hours, a more divided union, and increased dangers to ourselves and to the public safety. These are some of the demands of a new contract proposal before railroad workers at Consolidated Rail Corp. (Conrail). The

## UNION TALK

proposal, to be voted on January 14, follows the basic pattern of others in the railroad industry.

Conrail, which operates in the northeastern United States, reached the agreement December 10 with top officials of the United Transportation Union (UTU).

The UTU organizes most of the workers who operate trains in the United States — switchpersons, brakepersons, and some engineers.

Nearly half the Conrail proposal consists of rulings issued by Presidential Emergency Board (PEB) 219. After Congress ordered rail workers to end a 19-hour nationwide strike last April, President George Bush set up PEB 219 to impose contracts on the railroad unions and carriers. The board proceeded to reject virtually every union proposal and issued rulings that matched the companies' demands.

UTU officials claim that the PEB 219 rulings are a foregone conclusion, with the force of law, and that rail workers can do nothing to change them. Their specific agreement with Conrail, the officials assert, is the best workers can hope for today.

The proposal centers on the railroad's demand to reduce the size of its over-the-road train crews, from three workers

to two. Even though complex formulas will supposedly "protect" older employees' jobs, these crew-size reductions would mean the layoff of thousands of workers hired since March 1989.

The proposal also lays the groundwork for sharp cuts in the size of yard crews.

Conrail wants the smaller road crews to perform up to three additional moves during a shift. A move — adding to, separating from, rearranging or relocating a train using several tracks — can last an hour or longer, and three would significantly lengthen the workday. Since road crews are paid mainly by the day and not by the hour, these moves would carry no increase in wages.

Conrail seeks further wage cuts by freezing rates it pays crews for the distance they travel beyond the current basic day of 108 miles.

Conrail also wants no limits on the length of its trains. More frequent and serious accidents will inevitably result from these changes and, like all rail disasters, will be routinely blamed on the crews themselves.

The proposal "protects" some working conditions and wages for older employees at the expense of younger ones. It would create two new tiers (below the two that exist today): those hired after March 1989 who, if they work at all, are ineligible for some payments and options; and those hired after the contract is ratified, who will be paid even less and face worse treatment.

The "protections" are not ironclad. For example, they include the right to bid by seniority onto a "reserve board" of nonworking employees, who will receive 75 percent of their regular wages. But many railroaders are skeptical that the railroad will pay wages for very long to employees who are not working, and the proposal allows a "reopener" to

discuss this point in six months.

The proposal offers wage increases of 3 percent each year in the first two years and 4 percent in the third year. A "cost-of-living" allowance is offered to offset inflation. But the railroad can take back half of it to pay for workers' health insurance.

To encourage rail workers to accept these concessions, Conrail offers a \$12,000 lump-sum payment if the contract is ratified, with many newer employees excluded from this offer. One local chairman in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, called it "nothing more than a bribe."

Second, some conductors will receive \$18 for each shift on a smaller crew. Finally, the railroad will offer \$65,000 to a number of workers, again by seniority, for simply quitting their jobs. In addition to bringing in some "yes" votes, this would allow the company to utilize younger, lower-paid, less protected workers. The attractiveness of these "buyouts" to many workers is a measure of the ground unions have lost in the fight for decent wages and working conditions.

Acceptance of this concession contract without a fight will weaken our union and disarm us against the future assaults that Conrail is certainly planning. We should reject it.

Instead we need to unite our ranks and fight together, alongside other rail unions, and reach out to other workers for support. That course will strengthen us; the April strike showed a glimpse of the potential power rail workers have.

Most importantly, resistance by railroad workers can help lead other working people to fight back against the employers and their government, in the looming economic and social disaster that we all face.

Steve Marshall is a brakeman for Conrail and a member of Local 1428 of the United Transportation Union.

## MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation should attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

At the Militant Labor Forum you can express your opinion, listen to the views of fellow fighters, and exchange ideas on how to best advance the interests of workers and farmers the world over.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Growing Attacks on Immigrants. A Panel Discussion on How to Respond.** Speakers: Carlos Largaespada, adult education teacher; Samad Yerevani, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 512 and Socialist Workers Party; and Andrés Gonzales, One Stop Immigration and Education Center. Sat., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**The Rise of Ultrarightism — the David Duke Campaign, the Patrick Buchanan Campaign, and Operation Rescue. Where Do They Come From? How Can Workers Defeat This Threat?** Speaker: Roger Bland, Socialist Workers Party. Sat. Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

**The Collapse of the USSR and Its Meaning for Working People Worldwide.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

### MARYLAND

#### Baltimore

**The Fight Against the Maryland State Budget Cuts.** Speakers: Joel Aber, building representative Montgomery County Teachers Association; John Huffman, Baltimore Teachers Union Local 340; Sandip Dasgupta, student University of Maryland at College Park, member of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**Stop the Deportations, Open the Border to Haitian Refugees.** Speakers: Andre Vianqueur, coordinator of the 10th Department Comité Mete Men, spokesperson Washington Office on Haiti; Rashaad Ali, Socialist Workers Party; Susan Goering, legal director, ACLU. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**Revelations by Puerto Rican Senate Committee of U.S.-organized Death Squads in Puerto Rico Targeting Pro-independence Supporters and Political Activists.** Speaker: representative Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**The Crisis in U.S. Health Care and the Fight Against AIDS.** Sat., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**Racism, Reaction, and U.S. Politics.** Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

### NEBRASKA

#### Omaha

**Speak-Out Against Police Brutality. What Can We Do to Stop Cop Violence Against Workers and Youth?** A panel discussion. Sun., Jan. 19, 3:00 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Turning Point in South Africa: An Eyewitness Report from the Conference for a Democratic South Africa.** Speaker: Greg McCartan, editor of the *Militant*; Rich Stuart, Pathfinder. Sat., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. (2nd floor) Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Greensboro

**The Real History of Pearl Harbor and the March Toward War Today.** Speaker: Devin Oldendick, Socialist Workers Party, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 1113T. 2000-C South Elm-Eugene St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

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**MARYLAND: Baltimore:** 2905 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS: Boston:** 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

**Defend Abortion Rights! What's Behind Attacks on Women's Rights.** Speaker: Sarah Harris, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C South Elm-Eugene St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Philadelphia

**Capitalism in Crisis: The Meaning of the Duke and Buchanan Campaigns.** Sat., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

### UTAH

#### Salt Lake City

**The Politics of Women's Liberation Today.** A panel discussion. Representatives: the National Organization for Women, Utahns for Choice, Socialist Workers Party, and Voice, student organization at Brigham Young University. Sat., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**The Demise of the Soviet Union: What Lies Ahead for the Soviet Peoples?** Speaker: Bill Arth, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

**No Support to 'Japan-Bashing.' U.S. Recession: Made in Japan?** Speaker: Ken Kawakubo, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists. Sat., Jan. 18,

**MICHIGAN: Detroit:** 5019½ Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

**MINNESOTA: Twin Cities:** 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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**NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro:** 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip: 27406. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

**OHIO: Cleveland:** 1863 W. 25th St. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

**PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia:** 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8196. **Pittsburgh:** 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

**TEXAS: Houston:** 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

**UTAH: Salt Lake City:** 147 E 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** 523 8th St. SE. Zip: 20003. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

**WASHINGTON: Seattle:** 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

**WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown:** 242 Walnut. Mailing address: P.O. Box 203. Zip: 26507. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

7:30 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

### BRITAIN

#### London

**The Fight Against Racism and Fascism Today.** Speaker: Anne Howie, member Amalgamated Engineering Union and Communist League. Sat., Jan. 18, 6:00 p.m. 47 The Cut. Donation: £2. Tel: 071-928-7993.

#### Manchester

**South Africa: New Stage in the Struggle to End Apartheid — An Eyewitness Report.** Speaker: Pete Clifford, recently returned from trip to South Africa promoting Pathfinder books. Sat., Jan. 18, 7:00 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839-1766.

#### Sheffield

**South Africa: New Stage in the Struggle to End Apartheid — An Eyewitness Report.** Speaker: Pete Clifford, recently returned from trip to South Africa promoting Pathfinder books. Sat., Jan. 25, 6:00 p.m. 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-765070.

### CANADA

#### Vancouver

**Women's Rights, Workers' Rights and the Law. Was Justice Done in the Kennedy Smith Rape Trial?** Speaker: Joanne Pritchard, Young Socialists. Sat., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

### AUSTRALIA

**Sydney:** 19 Terry St., Surry Hills, Sydney NSW 2010. Tel: 02-281-3297.

### BRITAIN

**London:** 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 71-401 2293.

**Manchester:** Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 061-839 1766.

**Sheffield:** 1 Gower St., Spital Hill, Postal code: S47HA. Tel: 0742-765070.

### CANADA

**Montreal:** 6566, boul. St-Laurent, Postal code: H2S 3C6. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

**Toronto:** 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Postal code: M5V 1S8. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

**Vancouver:** 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Postal code: V5V 3C7. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

### ICELAND

**Reykjavik:** Klappartíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: (91) 17513.

### NEW ZEALAND

**Auckland:** La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

**Christchurch:** 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

**Wellington:** 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

### SWEDEN

**Stockholm:** Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.



No, not in "good" times either — "At a time when corporate profits are down, production is lagging and companies are laying off workers by the tens of thousands, does it



Harry Ring

make any sense to reward the typical corporation chief executive by paying him more than 85 times as much as an average worker?" — News item.

**Revolution, anyone?** — Jackson Memorial, a publicly financed Miami-area hospital, regularly turns away uninsured poor people. Like Bertha Dalger, 56, stricken with breast cancer and too ill to work, who was told to put up a \$300 deposit for surgery. Unable to do so, the operation was rescheduled. The next time they wanted a \$1,000 deposit. Why? The tumor was bigger and she would be in the hospital longer.

**The way the ball bounces** — With the help of a lawyer, Bertha Dalger finally got admitted to Jackson Memorial. By then the tumor was too big to be safely removed, so she's getting radiation treatment

instead. The prognosis is "uncertain."

**Oh** — Despite a recently imposed sales tax for the hospital, Jackson Memorial is maintaining its deposit requirement for the poor. "The reasons are obvious," the financial director said. "Once a patient gets care, it's harder to get money from them. And there's the thought out there that care is free here. This isn't a free hospital."

**Can't ya take a joke** — The *Denver Post* reported that Keystone, a plush ski resort, planned to take five percent of the tips of waiters and waitresses and pass it on to supervisors. The paper reported the

workers were so mad some were talking union and strike. The next day Keystone management said it had only been "brainstorming" and the idea had been scrapped.

**Only the phantom knows?** — Some 100 Britons are seeking damages from Pfizer, the medical biggie, for peddling heart valves they knew were defective. Cracked valves were polished rather than rewelded. One Pfizer worker has been dubbed the phantom because 1,900 valves, assertedly rewelded by him, were manufactured after he left the company.

**Does he solicit members by phone?** — For \$20 a year you can

belong to Robert Bulmash's Private Citizen, dedicated to combating junk phone calls. He sends his subscribers list to junk call companies, warning that if they call any of these folks they'll be billed \$100. He claims subscribers see their junk call drop 70 percent.

**Good deed rewarded** — The Boy Scout medal of honor was awarded to Ross Heilman of Hutchinson, Minnesota, for saving a friend from drowning. Now 75, Heilman performed his good deed in 1932. His scoutmaster's application for the award was rejected by the national office because, in that depression year, the troop was delinquent in dues per capita.

## Immigration agents raid Seattle refugee center

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

SEATTLE — The Washington Association of Churches (WAC) has initiated a Refugee Defense Committee to counter a serious government attack upon Central American refugees and church-sponsored refugee assistance programs here.

On August 14, heavily armed INS agents burst into the WAC Immigration and Refugee Program (IRP) offices in Seattle. They ordered staffers to leave and spent hours searching the premises before removing computers, files, rolodexes, even a Christmas party guest list.

The government then convened a federal grand jury and subpoenaed several IRP staffers and more than a dozen Salvadoran immigrants. At the same time, the court kept secret the INS affidavits justifying the investigation, so those targeted by the probe could not find out what they were accused of doing.

The WAC has run a Central American Refugee Program for nearly a decade, providing shelter, job counseling, and medical and legal referrals. It also assists other Spanish-speaking homeless by providing emergency shelter, much of it in the homes of volunteers. The WAC has long been one of the main channels for state and local aid provided for refugees in this area.

"These immigrant brothers and sisters come here fleeing death squads and the brutal army and police forces of U.S.-backed regimes in Central America," said Ken Kawakubo in a statement supporting the defense efforts. Kawakubo was a Socialist Workers candidate for Seattle City Council in the 1991 elections.

"We should welcome them here as an elementary act of human solidarity. Championing the right of all workers to travel wherever necessary to seek work" he ex-

plained, "also promotes solidarity and strengthens the labor movement."

"In addition, the government's abuse of the grand jury system, including the intimidating practice of keeping their allegations and charges secret for months, is a threat to all our democratic and political rights and makes a strong response all the more important."

The August raid came amidst a growing number of INS roundups directed at immigrant workers in industry and working in the fields in Washington. It appears to be part of INS efforts to reverse some gains won recently by Central American refugee supporters.

The Salvadorans cited in the INS subpoenas had all filed for Temporary Protective Status (TPS), a classification the government was forced to grant to some Central American immigrants after a Federal court ruled that the INS had systematically and illegally denied their petitions for political asylum. TPS is open to all Guatemalan and Salvadoran immigrants who arrived in the United States before September 19, 1990. It gives them the right to remain in the country and seek work while their asylum claims are processed.

The INS affidavit used to justify the raid was finally made public on December 18. It claims that some refugee program staffers

may have provided false documents to seven refugees seeking TPS status.

Although no charges have yet been filed, the four-month long investigation has had a disruptive and damaging impact on the work of the program. In addition, INS agents have visited Salvadorans at home and at their workplaces, threatening them with deportation unless they "cooperate" with the investigation.

This has "inspired great fear in the refugee community, and the active clientele of the program has dropped dramatically," says a WAC statement. "As the winter approaches, we know there are refugees who need the help available to them and their families, who will risk the dangers of the street rather than expose themselves to contact with our government."

The Refugee Defense Committee was launched to organize outreach, education, and fundraising for the defense effort.

Tax deductible contributions to help with the legal defense costs should be sent to the WAC Legal Defense Fund, c/o WAC, 4750 15th Ave. NE, Seattle, WA 98105.

Harvey McArthur is a switchman at the Burlington Northern Railroad in Seattle and member of United Transportation Union Local 845.

## Israel 'strongly condemned' by UN

Continued from Page 16

in what they consider the biblical lands of Judea and Samaria.

**Is Zionism racist?**

Israel's rulers won a pyrrhic victory December 16 when the United Nations General Assembly revoked its 16-year-old resolution that declared "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination." The repeal was approved by a vote of 111-to-25 with 13 abstentions. Cuba joined the primarily Arab countries voting no.

Faisal Husseini told the press that "while it is understandable that people have different interpretations of the meaning of Zionism, Israeli repression of the Palestinian people and their denial of their legitimate national rights, foremost that of self-determination, is racist in essence."

"The repeal of the resolution does not carry much weight with the Palestinian people in general," Husseini noted. "What does, is the repeal of aggressive and racist Israeli policies and laws."

The British *Economist* in its December 21 issue, ran an article titled, "No longer racism." But the magazine noted that "Under the 1950 'law of return' Israel offers automatic citizenship to all Jews who want it, wherever they were born."

"Jews from Brooklyn or Minsk have a right to 'return' to a land they have never seen, whereas many Palestinians who were born in it are doomed to exile."

**Class divisions in Israel**

In spite of attempts to create a stable, Jewish Israel, class divisions are increasing there.

Even Tel Aviv's much touted attempt to increase Jewish population of Greater Israel through immigration and lessen the weight of the Arab population is heading for the rocks.

Some 140,000 Soviet Jews emigrated to Israel in 1991. But this represents a drop of 23 percent from 1990.

Once they arrive, they find a tight job market and housing shortages. One Soviet immigrant, interviewed by the *Los Angeles Times*, is living in a chicken coop reinforced with concrete and stucco to make it more livable.

Out of the 328,000 immigrants who arrived from the former Soviet Union since late

1989 only 45,000 have found work, 40,000 are still in Hebrew language school, and 40,000 are officially listed as unemployed.

While Soviet immigrants face a hard time, the Israeli working class as a whole is not doing so well itself. Unemployment nationally stands at 200,000, more than 10 percent of the work force.

The Israeli government has begun privatizing some state-owned industries, a move that has resulted in large layoffs. In reaction to moves to privatize five hospitals tens of thousands of health-care workers went on strike January 5.

Israelis have protested not only against government and company attacks on their standard of living. Many object to the continued discrimination against Palestinians. Several hundred Jews and Palestinians marched December 20 to protest the Silwan evictions.

Israel's economic crisis, the beginnings of resistance by workers, and the opposition to Tel Aviv's hard-line stance toward negotiations with the Palestinians, show the increasing possibilities for Palestinian activists finding allies among Israeli workers.

**Israel stalls negotiations**

Few results have been announced so far in the course of the "peace conference." At the last session in Washington, D.C., procedural disputes between Israel and the Palestinians dominated the meeting.

Israel has insisted that it will negotiate with the Palestinians only if they are part of the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation.

In another sign of the depth of the Washington-Tel Aviv split, Israel wants the negotiations to move out of the United States and reconvene somewhere in the Mideast.

"The Arabs prefer to meet" in Washington, D.C., said one Arab diplomat involved in the negotiations. "But my God, can you imagine the Israelis not wanting to come to Washington?"

Hanan Ashrawi, spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation, complained about the Israeli conduct during the first negotiating session in the United States. "We came to engage, and they came to delay and play tricks," she stated.

Regardless of the outcome of the negotiations, Ashrawi explained, "if you ignore us, we will not go away, and if you deny us we will not disappear."

## 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO



According to the South African *Rand Daily Mail*, nine members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress of Azania were sentenced to death in the Cape Supreme Court for their part in the death of a shopkeeper in 1962.

The PAC headquarters in Maseru, Lesotho, in an urgent report states that one of the condemned men, Wellington Mzimase Tyhobeka, had disappeared on Aug. 29, 1966, under mysterious circumstances from Maseru, capital of the then Basutoland, a British colony.

This once again raises the question whether Tyhobeka had in fact been kidnapped from Basutoland by the South African police. It brings to mind the recent kidnapping from Basutoland of the Pan Africanist Congress Acting National Secretary John Nyati Pokela, who has now been traced to a South African jail in East London, South Africa, where he is awaiting trial.

The violation by the South African police of British territory in order to kidnap and then sentence to death people who had been given sanctuary in Basutoland needs a thorough investigation immediately, so that every effort can be made to save both Tyhobeka and Pokela from the gallows.



On Jan. 16, the Conference of American Foreign Ministers assembled in the palace of the former Chamber of Deputies of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro. At the opening session Under-

Secretary of State Sumner Welles presented the proposal of the United States government calling for the complete breaking off of relations with the Axis by all the Latin American countries.

The aim of Welles at the conference was to make sure that the United States and its allies would receive all the civilian and military exports of Latin America. The United States is also attempting to secure air and naval bases.

Ten nations, primarily in the Caribbean area, are at war alongside the United States, while three others have broken off diplomatic relations with the Axis.

The representatives of Argentina and Chile are proving difficult to "convince." Fearful that the Allies will not be victorious and that the Axis powers in this case would take revenge upon them; anxious to avoid an Axis declaration of war against their own countries, and bargaining for more economic concessions from the United States as a price for their support of the resolution calling for hemispheric unity and an unanimous rupture with the Axis—they are hesitant about lining up.

Welles, in his speech attempting to overcome these obstacles, assured the assembled diplomats of the superior military power of the Allies over the Axis. In addition the threat of economic and financial pressure is being used behind the scenes.

The chief lieutenant of Welles is Getulio Vargas, "president" of Brazil. Vargas on Nov. 10, 1937, declared himself dictator of Brazil, dissolved the Congress, promulgated a new constitution which declared him dictator for life. All unions have been abolished. A thousand opponents of his government are in prison.

With this as the stage and with Vargas as his lieutenant, it is no wonder that the references by Welles to the war as a "war for democracy" are very few. In the house of the hanged one does not speak of gallows.



# Stop provocations against Cuba

Two terrorist incidents that took place recently in Cuba represent a step-up in Washington's provocative actions aimed against Cuba. The U.S. government knows fully well that the Cuban authorities will not allow those who carry out terrorist acts to go unpunished. Washington hopes to use the recent death sentences handed out to three U.S. residents who were seized in Cuba with a supply of weapons and explosives to whip up hysteria and calls for revenge among elements within the Cuban exile community and other opponents of the Cuban revolution.

The three counterrevolutionary terrorists, who were dropped off the Cuban coast by a yacht that left from Florida and later returned there, had been trained in camps in the Everglades National Park in southern Florida. These camps, which have been publicized in the U.S. media, are centers where individuals are trained precisely for such terrorist acts against Cuba and for possible invasions of the island. The mission of the three — to attack public facilities and economic targets — could not have happened without the knowledge of the U.S. authorities.

Washington has not engaged in such open provocations against Cuba since the late 1960s when it systematically promoted terrorist acts against the Cuban revolution, including an invasion of the island at the Bay of Pigs in 1961 with 1,500 mercenaries trained and armed by the CIA. That invasion that was defeated by Cuban militias.

The latest terrorist attempt was a set-up. The three individuals involved were known members of the Cuban exile community in Miami whose inevitable detention was bound to provoke calls for revenge among sections of that community. In fact, shortly after the death sentence announced, a Miami-based group of Cuban exiles warned that if the Cuban government carries out the sentences it will "declare a war to the death against the Castro government."

By giving a hero's welcome to the Cubans who recently hijacked a Cuban helicopter to transport them to Florida, Washington also openly encourages acts like the January 9 brutal killing of three Cuban police officers by Cubans who sought to steal a boat to leave the country. Washington deliberately paves the way for such bloodshed by its policy of denying visas to those who seek to leave the island legally.

Washington's escalating campaign against Cuba will have the effect of further curtailing the rights of working people in the United States to learn the truth about what is going on in Cuba.

Workers, youth and others will have an important opportunity to learn more about Cuba and say no to Washington's provocations at the January 25 Peace for Cuba rally in New York City. Redoubled efforts are needed to get the word out among co-workers, fellow students, and all who oppose this escalation of violence, and to make this protest action a success!

# U.S. imperialism in decline

During the ceremonial dinner for George Bush in Tokyo January 7, the U.S. president slumped over in his chair and vomited on Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa's knees. He had to be helped back on his feet by the Japanese premier.

Bush's attack of stomach flu, right at the peak of his Asia trip, was widely seen as symbolizing the decline of U.S. imperialism in the world today in relation to its chief rivals, mainly the ruling families of Japanese and German imperialism.

Both the Japanese and the U.S. rulers recognize this reality underlined by the events during Bush's trip. Miyazawa referred to the U.S. Big Three auto executives as "defeated" following the meeting with their Japanese counterparts from Toyota, Nissan, Honda, Mitsubishi, and Mazda.

"If Mr. Bush's purpose was to demonstrate U.S. leadership in the post-Cold War world, he didn't succeed by turning his visit into a Commerce Department trade fair," complained a *Wall Street Journal* editorial. "Miyazawa, no doubt befuddled by this transformation, was moved to respond that Japan needed 'compassion' for the Americans. Mr. Bush's implicit message was that the Cold War is over, but Japan won," the editorial continued. "Whatever happened to the New World Order?"

The Bush administration presented the war against Iraq a year ago as the first triumph of its touted "new world order." But that war turned into a political fiasco for Washington. The events in Japan also point to the fact that what is unfolding is the continued breakdown of the old imperialist world order.

U.S. imperialism emerged from World War II as the clearly dominant power in the world imperialist system, both economically and militarily. This is no longer true.

Although the sheer size and output of the U.S. economy

is enormous, and while it remains the largest market in the world, its position as an industrial and trading power has slipped substantially in the face of growing challenges from German, Japanese, and other rivals. The owners of General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler are being eaten alive by their Japanese competitors.

U.S. strategic military power remains unchallenged, however, and is the main lever the U.S. rulers have to compensate for their relative decline. At the same time Bonn and Tokyo have taken steps to transform their military forces into powerful modern armies, although they have yet to overcome the domestic political barriers to deploying them in more than very limited ways.

The sharpening trade and other economic conflicts between the major imperialist powers point inexorably in the direction of shooting wars.

The fresh wave of protectionist calls that has swept U.S. capitalist politics can be expected to increase. "Japan-bashing" is becoming the trademark of more and more capitalist politicians.

In this situation there is greatly increased pressure on working people to side with Washington and the bosses in Detroit against Tokyo and Toyota City.

For working people, support to any of the aggressive trade policies of our capitalist masters, whether "free trade" or protectionism, leads away from fighting for real solutions to the devastating effects of the economic crisis.

Workers and farmers need to fight around demands that can unite us across all borders.

Only in a world rid of capitalism can the rivalry that pits workers of different lands against each other be ended once and for all.

# No excuse for cop brutality

Continued from front page

meeting to protest police brutality.

The size and composition of these meetings — overwhelmingly working people who are Black — reveal the scale of police violence in Des Moines and show who are its primary targets. A witness to the assault heard Sgt. Joanne Pollock say "Shut up nigger" to Milton as she grabbed him around the throat while two other officers beat him. This is when the cops let out their view of Larry Milton's real crime — that he is Black. Milton's picture after the beating speaks for itself. He had to be taken to three hospitals to receive proper aid and required 22 staples to stitch his head.

The racism of the cops mirrors that of the employing class they serve. While they attack the working class as a whole, it is Black workers, as well as workers of other oppressed nationalities, who are the primary targets. The cops' role is to threaten, intimidate, and brutalize. The cops also turn a blind eye to right-wing forces that carry out extralegal acts of violence and threats such as those responsible for burning crosses in several places across Iowa, including Des Moines.

The racist, anti-working-class character of the cops was unmistakably revealed in the 1988 beating of Mark Curtis by the Des Moines cops. They shattered Curtis's cheek bone,

opening a wound that required 15 stitches to close. Curtis was bruised all over his body. While they beat him, the cops yelled out at Curtis the real charges against him, calling him a "Mexican lover, just like you love those coloreds." Only days before this, on February 20, 1988, Curtis had participated in a protest in nearby Clive against cop racism. In the days leading up to his arrest he was involved in political protests concerning the arrest of 17 allegedly unregistered immigrants at the Des Moines Swift Meat Processing Plant where he worked.

Curtis was later tried and convicted on frame-up charges of raping a young Black woman and committing burglary.

Hundreds in Des Moines have called for the prosecution of the cops who beat Larry Milton and the resignation of Police Chief William Moulder. Under the banner of "No Excuse" they are demanding justice for Larry Milton and an end to the reign of terror carried out by the Des Moines police department. Their actions are an example and should be supported by working people throughout the world who are brutalized by the cops.

No Excuses!

Arrest and prosecute the cops who beat Larry Milton!

Police Chief Moulder should resign!

# Hawaii write-in vote ban fight

Continued from front page

Lieberman — is filing the amicus brief on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). "This case involves the most basic of all constitutional liberties in our society," he said. "It is a critical question of whether or not a state is going to be allowed to deny citizens the right to express their preference for the candidate of their choice."

Socialist Workers 1992 Election Campaign director Greg McCartan said in an interview that the socialist candidates will be explaining the stakes in the suit in public meetings, media interviews, and campaigning on the job and door-to-door.

"Fielding candidates, who campaign around what steps working people and the labor movement must take in face of the economic crisis, wars, and fascist movements spawned by capitalism in decline, has been a central part of the party's work for almost 70 years," he said.

The SWP campaign director noted that because of undemocratic and restrictive ballot access laws, the party fields more write-in candidates than any other party in the country. Further restrictions or outright bans on write-in voting will be an even bigger block to working-class candidates receiving media coverage, entering campaign debates, and being considered by the electorate as candidates vying in the elections, McCartan said.

McCartan appealed to supporters of the effort to strike down the Hawaii ban to help raise the funds needed to file the brief. He announced that the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc. (PRDF) has agreed to aid this democratic rights fight by accepting tax-deductible donations earmarked to go toward the estimated \$10,000 in expenses incurred in filing and publicizing the SWP's amicus brief.

PRDF executive director John Studer said in a phone interview that "PRDF was set up to aid fights for basic democratic and constitutional rights. The right to vote for who you choose is one of the basic rights that comes under our charter. That is why we decided to make PRDF available for this important case."

Another PRDF board member, Ned Ryerson from Boston, added that the case "is clearly an issue of political rights and is nonpartisan. A write-in vote should be taken as a vote and not ignored by the state. It is a right that must be defended." Ryerson added that he was pleased PRDF could lend its support to the fight.

In a phone interview from Hawaii Alan Burdick said the suit focuses on the right of individuals to cast a ballot for whomever they choose.

## 'A fundamental threat'

"In a democracy a person should be able to choose to vote for a person of his or her choice," he said, "and not be forced to vote for those on the ballot." A decision by the Supreme Court in favor of the state would "be a fundamental threat to the basic idea that you can vote for whomever you choose."

Attorney Arthur Eisenberg, who is handling the appeal for the ACLU, said in an interview that "this case goes to the essence of our democratic system which holds voters ought to have the right to express their point of view at the polling booth."

The fight around the Hawaii case comes as another serious attack on ballot access is underway. A concerted effort is being mounted to deny Republican Party presidential candidate David Duke the right to appear on the primary ballot along with other candidates from his party.

A unanimous decision by officials of the Republican Party in Georgia barred Duke from the primary ballot there and party leaders in Florida have asked that Duke's name not appear on that ballot either.

Duke is filing suit in Rhode Island against that state's decision to bar him from the ballot and the ACLU has offered legal aid to his campaign to fight the Georgia restrictions.

Striking down the Hawaii law is "important for working people and all defenders of democratic rights," said SWP national secretary Jack Barnes in an interview here.

"Defending democratic rights — such as the right to discuss and debate, to join organizations of your choice, to field candidates and appear on the ballot — is an inseparable part of the fight of working people to maintain space to practice politics today," he said.

"The economic downturn has turned into the equivalent of the early stages of a depression; competition between the wealthy families in the United States, Europe, and Japan over access to markets and raw material is sharpening; and rightists, spawned by the growing crisis of the bipartisan domestic policies of the two-party system, are demagogically appealing to the economically and socially oppressed, posing solutions that are aimed directly against the working class itself," the SWP leader said.

Given these conditions, championing every fight to defend or extend political and democratic rights needs to be a central task of the labor movement, he said. "The employers and their government hope to close down the political space and rights working people have won — rights that are needed to organize and fight against the catastrophe capitalism is bringing on humanity."

Funds are urgently needed for the high costs of filing a brief in the Supreme Court. Contributions can be sent to the Socialist Workers Party at 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tax deductible donations can be made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc., earmarked for the Hawaii write-in ban Supreme Court brief. Contributions to PRDF should be sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc., P.O. Box 761, New York, NY 10008.



# Will huge bailout of Northwest save airline jobs?

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

Working people around the world are involved in skirmishes over speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, and attacks on health and safety benefits. Some unionists faced with sharp takeback demands, lockouts, and union-busting moves by the employers have gone on strike to force the bosses to back down.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around

ritated many workers in the area. Some local businessmen are opposed to the loan package because of what they see as an airline in a precarious financial position, one which may be unable to make good on its loans.

According to financial records given to the state, the airline uses more than 30 percent of its cash flow for debt payment. In 1990 Northwest interest payments on debt totaled \$340 million. The *City Pages*, a local paper whose distribution has been banned on Northwest property for publishing an article critical of the deal, reports that the airline is close to technical default on its debt

nental Airlines' bankruptcy in 1983. "The only security you have today in this industry or any other, is the degree to which you stick together with your fellow workers," stated a former Eastern Airline mechanic now at Northwest.

## British Columbia workers protest plant shutdown

With 25 police escorts, trucks removed \$5 million worth of dies from the Wolverine copper tubing plant at Annacis Island near Vancouver, British Columbia, November 26.

Picket lines have been set up at the plant since mid-April. The company closed its doors April 19, laying off 141 members of Local 4 of the Canadian Association of Industrial, Mechanical and Allied Workers (CAIMAW).

Workers on the picket line said the convoy was headed for Wolverine's Montreal plant.

The plant closure was announced April 5, the day before CAIMAW members were to have voted on Wolverine's proposal that their new contract include a one-year wage freeze and other concessions.

On November 2, the company was prevented from removing equipment from the area by workers who followed a truck to Surrey, a nearby suburb, and surrounded it with a second 24-hour picket line. Two workers were arrested at that time.

Workers again tried to stop a truck from leaving November 26, but police moved in to arrest three of the union's leaders and escort the convoy out of the area.

A November 28 rally of 250 Wolverine workers and supporters demanded the newly elected New Democratic Party (NPD) government intervene to stop dismantling of the plant.

Labor Minister Moe Sihota told the rally, "I'm somewhat handicapped by the fact that I have inherited legislation from a right-wing government that limits my ability in terms of what I can do."

Ken Chamberlain, a 31-year veteran at the plant, said after the rally, "We voted the NDP in, but they don't sound too much different than the previous government. Now the government will have to decide whether it's for us or for business."

The union found a potential buyer for the plant and proposed to raise

30 percent of the cost — some \$10 million. But the company refused to sell.

Wolverine, owned by Genstar, controls more than 80 percent of the Canadian copper-tubing market. It owns eight plants in Canada and the United States, of which only three are unionized. Officials of CAIMAW, the Federation of Labour, and the NDP blame the plant shutdown on the Canada-U.S. "Free Trade" deal. Most workers on the picket line agree. But some are thinking about other explanations.

Ken Culshaw said in an interview, "Companies like Wolverine want to bring workers' standards down to Third World conditions. We want to bring the rest of the world up."

Mike Pictin, a crane operator, said, "We've had lots of unionists out here on the picket line, but we need more support. We've got to pressure the NDP government to stand up and put people first."

At a Militant Labor Forum December 13 in Vancouver, CAIMAW Local 4 vice-president Martin Legge introduced himself as one of the Annacis Island Seven, referring to the seven unionists arrested on the picket line.

"If this plant closing can happen to us, it can happen to anyone," Legge said. "That's why it's important for the labor movement to fight against this. When other plants were closed, I paid little attention, but this has taught me that this is wrong. An injury to one is an injury to all."

Legge announced December 18 that Local 4 members had decided to end the struggle to reopen the Annacis Island plant. But pickets will remain to press for decent severance pay and to defend the charged union members.

## Canadian airline workers win airport security clearances

An important victory in the fight in Canada against cop harassment of airport workers was recently won when several members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) received their permanent security passes after a fight lasting more than two years. The passes are a condition of employment at airports in Canada.

The five workers in Vancouver, Montreal, and Toronto all worked

for Canadian Airlines International, Canada's second largest airline.

The federal Ministry of Transport (MOT) issues security clearances for airport workers. The Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), Canada's secret police, carries out investigations of workers for MOT on workers' "loyalty" to Canada and "reliability." These investigations involve interrogations and "field investigations" by CSIS agents who query relatives, neighbors, landlords, past employers, and others. These government spies sometimes hide their identity, posing as company investigators.

In the interrogations workers are asked about such things as political beliefs and activities, travel to "hostile countries," sexual orientation, use of drugs, and personal debts.

The IAM challenged the security clearance program in court when it was first introduced on the grounds that it violated basic rights like the right to association supposedly protected by Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The initial ruling in favor of the IAM on technical grounds by a federal court judge was immediately overturned by the federal cabinet on the grounds of "national security." Since then hundreds of airport workers have been harassed and interrogated by CSIS.

Last fall, Air Canada worker Joe Young, who was a member of IAM Lodge 2323 in Toronto, won his pass after a 22-month delay. Young was the Toronto mayoral candidate of the Communist League at the time.

IAM officials attended the interrogation of Young and the other workers involved in the most recent efforts to win passes. At the request of the IAM Grand Lodge in Ottawa, New Democratic Party member of parliament Derrick Blackburn took the matter up with the MOT.

The government's decision to issue the security passes reflected the fact that most workers are opposed to the kinds of interrogations carried out by CSIS.

"I'm glad you got your pass. They have no right to ask questions like that," a coworker told another worker who had just received his clearance.

*Kip Hedges, a member of IAM Local 1833 in Minneapolis; Ned Dmytryshyn in Vancouver; and Heidi Rose, a member of IAM Lodge 2754 in Toronto, contributed to this week's column.*

## ON THE PICKET LINE

the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let other *Militant* readers know about what is happening at your workplace or in your union. If there is an interesting political discussion going on at work, we would like to hear about that too.

For months a debate has raged in Minnesota over whether the state and the Metropolitan Airport Commission should give Northwest Airlines \$830 million in low-interest loans and loan guarantees. It is the largest amount ever loaned by a state to a private business, according to the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*.

Roughly half would go to build aircraft maintenance bases in Duluth and Hibbing, two economically depressed north Minnesota towns. The other half could be used as Northwest chooses: for operating capital, to repay loans, or for acquisitions.

The debate ended December 16 with a legislative committee voting 11-to-7 to authorize \$320 million of the package.

A large part of Northwest publicity consisted of a promise of 1,500 high-paying jobs and veiled threats that if the loans were not approved the airline would abandon its Twin Cities hub, leaving 18,000 employees without jobs and devastating the local economy. One Northwest ad, which local TV stations refused to air, showed a Northwest aircraft touching down then immediately taking off, leaving viewers to form their own conclusions.

Northwest's use of blackmail ir-

of \$1.4 billion to Bankers Trust.

All of this has caused concern among the 10,000 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), which represents mechanics, cleaners, ticket agents, and baggage handlers. The failure of Midway, Pan Am, and the seemingly imminent collapse of Trans World Airlines already has many union members worried about their futures.

Many see the business deals of Northwest as the road to job security. "If we can expand then we can compete with Delta, United, and American and I'll have a good job five years from now," one aircraft cleaner said.

While some workers see owner Al Checchi and themselves as having common interests, he has not proven to be a friend of working people. One Northwest employee who worked at Marriott when Checchi was in command there explained, "Checchi ran Marriott for the Marriott family. They couldn't care less about their workers. They cared about profits. Now he runs Northwest for the rich people at Bankers Trust and Wings Incorporated. To them we're just pieces of equipment."

Indeed when the IAM tried to organize the Minneapolis Marriott flight kitchen, Checchi opposed it. He has said that a key part of his ability to pay back the loans will be to have new hires come in at a low starting wage. At a recent meeting with the mechanics he claimed that "overpaid" baggage handlers and cleaners were the reason for Conti-

## LETTERS

The letters in this week's column are all taken from comments recently sent in by readers when renewing their subscriptions to the *Militant*.

### Pressure OSHA

I would like to know more about the struggles of workers in North Carolina. I've heard there has been a lot of problems in trying to organize the workers and I think this information is important. I would also like to know what we can do to pressure OSHA to do its job in safety inspections.

C.T.  
Winona, Minnesota

### Invaluable asset

The *Militant* is an invaluable asset enlightening prisoners here to global injustices and events. I've learned much from your publication. Please continue telling the truth — the struggle continues!

A prisoner  
Hagerstown, Maryland

### Analysis of unions

Your coverage is invaluable to me, but I am curious about a few



things. I understand your analysis of Labor Party Advocates and agree, but should class conscious workers simply abstain? There also seems to be a lack of coverage of the activities of other organiza-

tions on the left; I used to enjoy the "Selections from the Left" section of the *Intercontinental Press*. Also: Why no coverage of the growing rank-and-file organizations in the unions? (New Direc-

tions, TDU, etc.)  
J.S.  
Phoenix, Arizona

### 'Militant' missed

I let my sub lapse for a few weeks

before I remembered and realized how much I needed the analysis that I missed.

J.L.  
Delmar, New York

### Good work

Keep up the good work. Your reporting on the class struggle continues to be clear and helpful in discussing politics with coworkers.

G.W.  
Santee, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.



## Israel 'strongly condemned' by UN for deportation of 12 Palestinians

BY SETH GALINSKY

The United States voted with the rest of the United Nations Security Council January 6 in a unanimous condemnation of Israel's decision to deport 12 Palestinians from Israeli-occupied territories.

The vote, the same day the Israeli delegation to the Mideast "peace talks" arrived in Washington, D.C., highlights the divergence between the interests of the U.S. and Israeli governments.

Israeli defense minister Moshe Arens ordered the expulsions after a Jewish settler was shot to death in the Gaza Strip. None of the 12 — said to be supporters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Hamas, an Islamic group — are accused of participating in the incident.

Despite international criticism of the action, Arens insisted, "There is no room for debate about this."

In response to the deportation orders, Palestinian and other Arab delegations announced they would not attend the third round of negotiations with Israel scheduled to begin January 7. After the UN vote these delegations agreed to return to the bargaining table.

Since the start of the Palestinian uprising in December 1987, Israel has expelled 66 Arabs from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. But there had been no expulsions, until now, since May 1991.

### The harshest criticism ever

The UN Security Council resolution — written by the PLO with U.S. approval — originally stated that the council "strongly



Makeshift house in a West Bank Palestinian village which was demolished by Israeli army three times since 1973. Dragged into negotiations at Mideast conference against its will, Israel has so far made no concessions of substance to Palestinians.

deplores" the decision to deport the 12. But after U.S. State Department spokesperson Richard Boucher used tougher language to describe the Israeli action, the resolution was changed to read "strongly condemns."

According to the *New York Times*, this is the harshest criticism of Israel that the U.S. government has ever made at the Security Council for any of its actions.

The growing divergence between Tel Aviv and Washington came to the surface last fall,

when Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir requested that the United States provide guarantees for \$10 billion of loans that the Jewish state claimed it needed to build housing for immigrants.

At President George Bush's insistence, the loan-guarantee request was shelved for 120 days over Israeli objections. Bush had said he wanted guarantees the money would not be used to expand Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. But with the 120 days up, the dispute will soon start sparks flying anew.

Dragged into the negotiations at the Mideast conference against its will, Israel has so far made no concessions of substance to the Palestinians.

Instead, it has continued its policies of encouraging Jewish settlements in the Israeli-occupied territories, harassing Palestinian activists, and restricting democratic rights both in the occupied territories and within Israel itself.

Among the latest incidents:

- On December 8 Israeli courts allowed ultrarightist Jewish settlers to evict residents from Arab-owned houses in Silwan, an Arab neighborhood just to the south of Jerusalem's Old City. In some cases they evicted residents at gunpoint.

The rightist group El Ad, an acronym for "To the City of David," claims they have a right to the houses because Silwan "belongs to Jews alone."

- A platoon of Israeli soldiers tore out olive tree seedlings planted by farmers near the Palestinian village of Beit Iksa December 9. Since 1967 Israeli authorities have confiscated more than three quarters of the village's property.

- On December 15 the Israeli Army imposed new nighttime restrictions on Palestinians. The order requires Arab pedestrians in the West Bank and Gaza to stay at least 165 yards from roadsides between sunset and sunrise.

- It was announced January 1, 1992, that two-thirds of publicly financed housing projected in the 1992 budget will be built in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This is a continued part of Zionist goals of expanding Israel

Continued on Page 13

## Haiti repression reaches new heights

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In the three-and-a-half months since a military coup ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide from power in Haiti, repression has reached levels not seen since the reign of the Duvalier dictatorship.

This is the conclusion of a major report entitled, *Return to the Darkest Days: Human Rights in Haiti since the Coup*, which was jointly issued Dec. 30, 1991, by Americas Watch, the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, and Physicians for Human Rights. The report is based on a December 3-10 fact-finding visit undertaken by representatives of these groups.

"The elected government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was only the first casualty of the brutal military regime that took power in Haiti on September 30," states the report. "The army has embarked on a systematic and continuing campaign to stamp out the vibrant civil society that has taken root in Haiti since the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship nearly six years ago."

The report explains that during the past three months "the army has hunted down a broad range of people perceived as threatening its aspirations to power. Some of these were marked as Aristide supporters. Others were deemed to resist military rule.... Many of those targeted were nothing more than members of popular organizations.

"The tools of repression are drawn from Haiti's darkest days," states the report. "In the period immediately following the coup, massacre and widespread killing were the order of the day.

"Selected assassinations, disappearances, severe beatings, and political arrests continue. Common people are arrested merely for having photographs of President Aristide in their homes or for the possession of pro-Aristide literature."

The report documents the military's arrest and beating of the mayor of Port-au-Prince

and attacks on numerous peasant and working-class organizations. Students, priests, and nuns have also been targeted.

### Thousands flee repression

More than 8,000 Haitians fleeing this repression and seeking asylum in the United States have been intercepted in international waters by the U.S. Coast Guard since October. Some 6,500 including 270 children are being held in prison-like conditions at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. Thousands of other Haitians have fled directly over the border to the Dominican Republic.

As large numbers of Haitians started leaving for U.S. shores, Washington toned down its initial criticism of the Haiti coup leaders. According to the December 30 report no public denunciation of Haiti's human rights abuses has been made by the State Department or the U.S. embassy in Port-au-Prince since October 29.

"[A]t this time we have no reason to believe that mere identification of an individual as an Aristide supporter puts that individual at particular risk of mistreatment or abuse," concluded the U.S. State Department in a December 13 statement that totally contradicts the fact-finding mission. Washington also claims that refugees returned by the United States to Haiti are not detained or punished.

In a related development, the Organization of American States (OAS) announced January 8 that Aristide has now accepted the proposal put forward by conservative Haitian legislators that Unified Communist Party leader René Théodore become prime minister. According to OAS representative Augusto Ramirez Ocampo, this agreement "should prepare the way for Aristide to return to Haiti in a peaceful manner."

Théodore has made a name for himself as one of Aristide's leading critics. In recent statements Théodore stressed the importance

of the private sector and called for more foreign investment.

Aristide's possible return is still tied up in negotiations. One of the big unknown factors is whether the top army brass will accept this proposal. In addition, Théodore must be formally confirmed by the Haitian Senate where, according to the *Washington Post*, "he has no political base."

## Terrorist group which landed from U.S. convicted in Cuba

BY SELVA NEBBIA

Three Cubans who are U.S. residents have been sentenced to death by Cuban authorities after having admitted they were preparing to carry out terrorist activities in Cuba. The three, Eduardo Díaz, Daniel Santovenia, and Pedro Alvarez Pedrosa, were apprehended December 29 near Ensenada de Júcaro, on Havana's northwestern coast. They had been dropped off from a boat that then returned to the United States.

Spokespeople for the Cuban Ministry of the Interior said the three were caught with "various weapons of different types and calibers, as well as incendiary objects."

The Cuban press agency Prensa Latina reported the three admitted their aim was "to carry out acts of sabotage to cause panic and destabilize Cuban society." They planned to place bombs in movie theaters, recreation areas, oil refineries, sugar mills, and other economic targets.

### Trained in Florida

A few hours after news of their arrest was made public, Daniel Santovenia's father said the three had been training in the Everglades National Park to carry out a clandestine mission against the Cuban government, reported

the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario/La Prensa*.

The daily also reported that Héctor Alfonso "Fabián" had told the *Miami Herald* and TV Channel 23 that two of the arrested men were members of his paramilitary organization, the "Nationalist Insurreccional Directorate."

On January 10, thousands of residents of Havana took to the streets demanding that the death sentence also be handed out to those responsible for the death of Yuri Gómez Reinoso, 19; Osmañ Dueñas Valero, 20; and Rafael Guevara Borges, 30, members of the Ministry of the Interior, Cuba's police. The police officers were killed January 9 at the Tarara naval base, east of Havana, by seven individuals who were attempting to hijack a boat to leave Cuba. They were killed while their hands were tied behind their backs. The seven were later captured by Cuban authorities.

Speaking at the funeral of the police officers, Raúl Castro, vice-president of Cuba's Council of State, denounced Washington for promoting desertion among Cubans while at the same time it continues to block legal immigration to the United States.